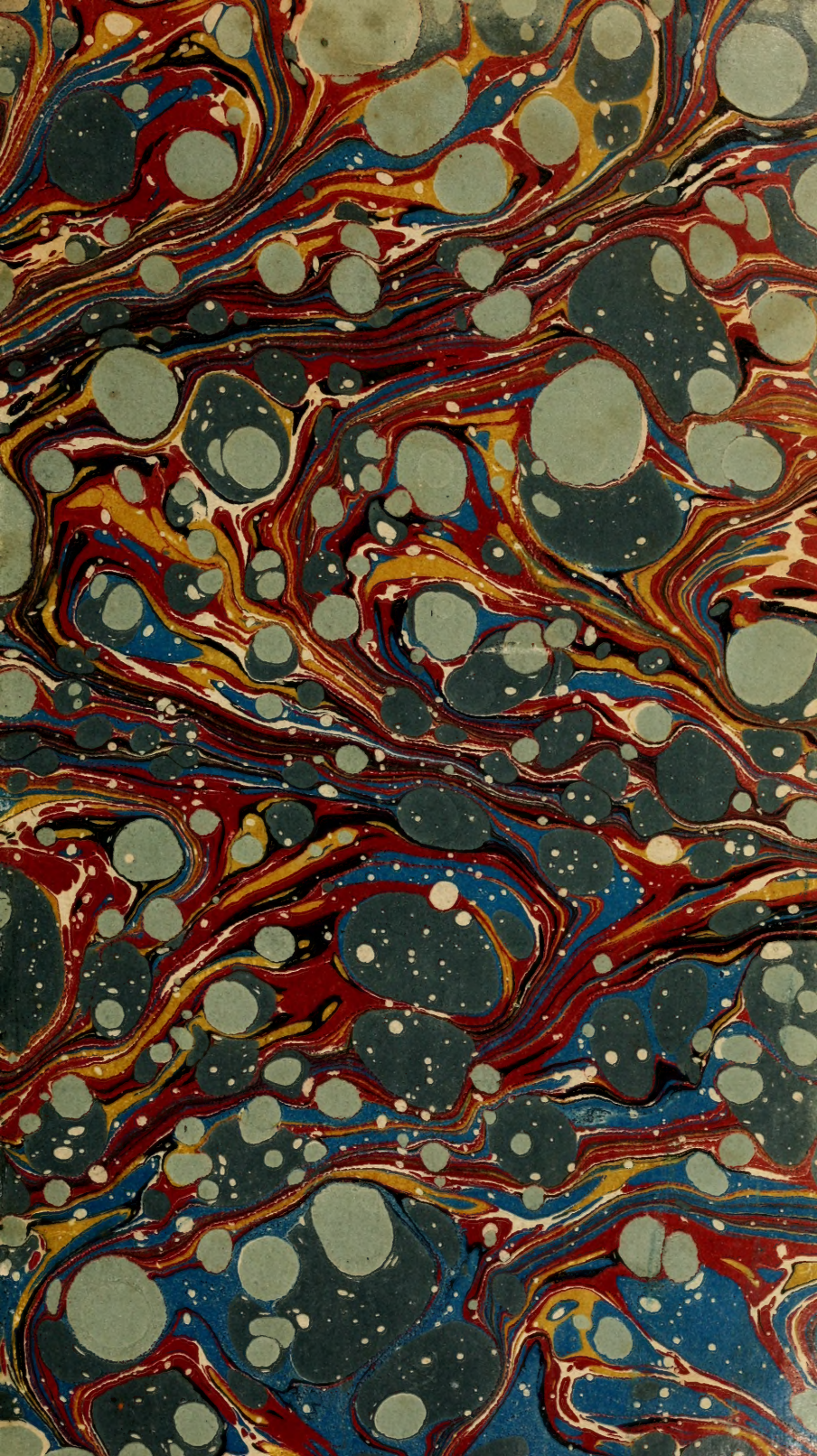


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THE HISTORY OF THE

WARRIORS

OF THE NORTH





DISSERTATIONS

UPON AN

HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.





# DISSERTATIONS

UPON

THE PRINCIPLES

AND

ARRANGEMENT

OF AN

HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

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# HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

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## DISSERTATIONS.

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### APPENDIX.

#### DISSERTATION XXVII.

*On the coincidence between the days of the month, in the Julian year, and the days of the week, at the time of the martyrdom of Polycarp, and of the martyrs of Palestine.*

IT does not often occur, that regular historians have occasion to specify the days of the week, on which the dates of the events, recorded by them, happen to fall; but in those documents, which are called the Acts of the martyrs, this coincidence is not unfrequently mentioned. And though the authenticity of all these documents cannot be implicitly assumed, yet some among them there are, entitled to an high degree of credit: which may, consequently, be appealed to, so far as their testimony is available for the decision of any such question, as may concern the above coincidences. We will consider one or two of this number; beginning with the best authenticated of all, the acts of the martyrdom of Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna.

These acts, which are contained in an epistle from the church of Smyrna to that of Philomelium, a neighbouring city, are quoted at great length by Eusebius<sup>a</sup>; but were first published entire in the original Greek by Usher, A. D. 1647. The subscription of the epistle, as it stands in that edition, p. 29, is as follows: μαρ-

<sup>a</sup> E. H. iv. xv. 128. D. 129. A.



τυρεὶ δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου, πρὸ ἑπτὰ καλανδῶν Μαΐων, σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ ὥρα ὀγδόῃ. συνελήφθη ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου, ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου Τραλλιανοῦ, ἀνθυπατεύοντος Στρατίου Κοράτου, κ', τ. λ.

Admitting the genuineness of the subscription, learned men have been commonly of opinion that the name of the proconsul, as it is there given, is a corruption for Statius Quadratus: and in the Chronicon Paschale<sup>b</sup>, the name of the proconsul, under whom the martyrdom took place, is expressed, though not entirely in conformity to this opinion, yet much nearer to it, by that of Tattius Quadratus. A Statius Quadratus appears in the Consular Fasti, U. C. 895, A. D. 142, which is sufficient to prove that there was such a nomen and cognomen as this; and that some person, bearing the name of Statius Quadratus, might actually be proconsul of Asia when Polycarp suffered.

The month Xanthicus, in which the martyrdom is said to have happened, it is also agreed was a month the beginning of which coincided either with February or with March; so that whensoever Polycarp suffered, it was in the spring of the year. The ancient authorities, which specify the date of his death, all place it in the reign of Antoninus, the philosopher, and all early in that reign; yet each of them in particular, under a different year\*: Eusebius, according to the Armenian version of his Chronicon, and Jerome, after Eusebius, in the seventh; Prosper in Chronico, and Samuel the presbyter in the sixth; the Paschal Chronicon, *loco*

\* Among these authorities, we must except the ecclesiastical historian, Socrates: with respect to whom, considering his exactness, particularly on points of chronology, it is a singular fact that he places the martyrdom of Polycarp almost an hundred years too late; viz. ἐπὶ Γορδιανοῦ, A. D. 238—A. D. 244: E. H. v. xxii. 284. C.

<sup>b</sup> i. 480. l. 20—481. l. 4. The old Latin version has the name correctly, *Statii Quadrati*.

*citato*, in the 133rd year after the ascension, (which that Chronicon dates Tib. xviii. A.D. 32,) Coss. Æliano et Pastore. These answer, it is true, to U. C. 916, A.D. 163. But the 133rd year after the ascension, dated from A. D. 32, would begin A. D. 164, U. C. 917. As the years of Marcus Aurelius bear date from March 7, A. D. 161, U. C. 914<sup>c</sup>, the martyrdom of Polycarp may thus be considered to be placed by the Paschal Chronicon, A.D. 164, in his fourth year, and by our other authorities, A. D. 166, in his sixth, or A. D. 167, in his seventh. The death of Polycarp appears thus to be circumscribed between A. D. 164 and A. D. 167; and if it can be shewn that during the same period a Quadratus was actually governor of Asia, as well as in what year he was so; this will be a strong presumptive argument that the martyrdom took place both under him, and in that particular year. This may be proved accordingly of the year to which the Paschal Chronicon refers it, A. D. 164.

The sophist or rhetorician Aristides, great part of whose works has come down to us, flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, from whom he received a number of favours; and was consequently a contemporary of Polycarp. Being besides, though not a native of Smyrna, where the martyrdom took place, yet a citizen and inhabitant of it, he is the best and most unexceptionable evidence which can be produced, to determine the question at issue. His *ἱεροὶ λόγοι*, which are six in number, and all except the last, have been transmitted to posterity entire, mention several proconsuls of Asia by name; and among the rest a Quadratus, described as *ὁ ῥήτωρ*: and they supply such additional criteria as not only to determine the order of succession among them, but in conjunction with other

<sup>c</sup> Dio, lxxi. 33, 34.

facts of contemporary history, to ascertain with precision the years when they were respectively in office\*.

\* It is the opinion of bishop Pearson, (*Opera Posthuma*, Diss. ii. cap. xvii. §. 2.) and also of Valesius, that the Quadratus of Aristides was the same with the person whom Philostratus mentions, as the teacher of Varus of Perga, *c* *Vitæ Sophistarum*, ii. Varus, 574. C. It is observable, however, that Philostratus calls him *Κοδρατίων*, and not *Κόδρατος*; and though he adds *Κοδρατίων ὁ ὑπατος*, yet he further describes him as *αὐτοσχεδιάζων τὰς θετικὰς ὑποθέσεις*—which is a plain description of a sophist as such. Now Aristides never calls his Quadratus, *τὸν σοφιστήν*, though he calls him once *τὸν ῥήτορα*. We may remark, also, that Dio applies the description of *ῥήτωρ* to Aristides' friend Heliodorus, (lxxi. 22) who yet was the governor of Egypt, and the father of Avidius Cassius. Perhaps the distinction is not unimportant. The name of *σοφιστής* at this time probably denoted something different from that of *ῥήτωρ*. that is, every *σοφιστής* might be *ῥήτωρ*, but not every *ῥήτωρ σοφιστής*.

Coins are extant, bearing the title of *Sophista* in various instances: Eckhel, ii. 554, 555: iii. 163: iv. 221–224: implying that the denomination was something descriptive of a person, and definite. Strabo, iv. 1. §. 5. 14. says of the cities of Gallia Narbonensis, *σοφιστὰς γοῦν ὑποδέχονται τοὺς μὲν ἰδίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ αἱ πόλεις κοινῇ μισθούμεναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἰατροὺς*. Juvenal: *De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule*. xv. 112.

Cf. Pliny, *Epistolæ*, iv. 13: iv. 11: vii. 30; iii. 3: Dio, lxxi. 31: Artëmidorus, *Oneirocritica*, i. 26. ii. 50: Philostratus, *De Vitis Sophistarum*, i. Proœmium, 486. A. 489. B.

Nor did it unfrequently happen that these rhetores by profession attained to the dignity of consul; nor on the other hand that persons of consular dignity became teachers of rhetoric. Of this Pliny, iv. 11, furnishes a remarkable instance: and hence Juvenal, vii. 197. *Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul; | Si volet hæc eadem, fies de consule rhetor*.

The lives of the Sophists, by Philostratus, shew that they occupied by turns, in the same place, or simultaneously in different places, the chair of professors of rhetoric and philosophy. Aristides himself filled this chair successively at Pergamus and Smyrna.

A Quadratus is twice mentioned in the tenth oration of Aristides, entitled, *Ἀπέλλα Γενεθλιακός*: as a person well known to his contemporaries, and the author of signal benefits to the city of which Apellas was a native, and where the oration was pronounced. This city it may be proved was Pergamus; and the time, in all probability, was the latter end of the reign of Antoninus Pius. But this Quadratus is impliedly set forth as the great-grandfather of Apellas; between whom and him, two intermediate names occur, Apellas and Fronto—the former the

c It is to be observed, however, that Pearson calls him Numidius Quadratus, Valesius, Statius Quadratus. Consequently he was not the same in each instance.

The *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* are so named because they were composed in honour of the author's tutelary genius, *Æsculapius*; and gave an account, from first to last, of a miraculous cure ascribed to that god, the process of which continued not less than *thirteen* years: as appears from the references in the margin<sup>d</sup>. In the *first* year, and the *first* month of the process, he had a vision of the god\*, which gave him to understand that for

son of Quadratus, the latter the father of Apellas: and all these, Quadratus, Apellas, and Fronto, though thus related to each other, and to Apellas, were dead, when the oration was delivered.

The three first of the epistles in the second book of the *Epistolæ Frontonis ad Amicos*, (*Frontonis Opera Inedita*, i. 163 sqq.) are addressed to *Volumnius Quadratus*, who, it seems, was a pupil of *Fronto's* in rhetoric. This man might be the *Quadratus* of *Philostratus*; and the time of the epistles in question is in unison with such a supposition; as that appears to have been the reign of *Hadrian*, or *Antoninus Pius*, rather than that of *Marcus Aurelius*.

\* The learned *Masson* supposes this vision in the third year of *Aristides' cure*. Let, however, B. 466. 12: *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκομίσθην ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*...470. 7: *καὶ δείκνυσσι τὸν παῖδα*, be compared with B. 482. 19: *ἐδόκει δὴ χρῆναι κομίζεσθαι οὕκαδε*...483. 32: *ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Περγάμῳ καθέδραν ἦλθον*—and it will appear that *this* was the order of events—*Aristides* returned from Italy to *Smyrna*, soon after the autumnal

equinox: being unwell, he determined to try the *warm baths* (near *Smyrna*): while there, he had the *first* vision of his god, ordering him to walk barefoot: then a summons of some kind, (which I understand of an admonition from *Æsculapius*,) to go from *Smyrna* to *Pergamus*—then the vision of *Salvius* in the temple of *Æsculapius* at *Pergamus*—then directions from *Æsculapius* to go to *Chius*; and *Aristides' journey* accordingly through *Smyrna* as far as *Phocæa*: (all this before the fourteenth of the second month, which is nothing unlikely—the events being consecutive): then, the rest of the journey to *Chius* being excused, the return from *Phocæa* to *Smyrna*—*Æsculapius' appearance there* in various shapes—and his prediction about the *years*—the commencement of the system of bathing in *cold water*—and lastly, after a year and some months, *Aristides' assumption* of the chair of *Pergamus*. This, I believe, to be the true order of events at the outset of *Aristides' cure*. *Masson* seems to have thought the *κλήσις εἰς Πέργαμον* was a summons to take the chair there. But this is no necessary inference.

<sup>d</sup> Operum i. 469. l. 12. 21. 26: 470. 1, 2: 501. 11. 24: 5<sup>f</sup>



ten years he should be indebted to Æsculapius, and for *three* to Sarapis; implying that to both conjointly he should be indebted for not less than *thirteen* years in all. Accordingly he specifies, *locis citt.* not only the tenth year of the progress of his cure, but also the twelfth; and had not the sixth discourse broken off abruptly, he would doubtless have specified more.

The same passage, in fact, which tells us that he was promised *thirteen* years in one sense, suggests the inference that he was promised *seventeen* in another: for the fingers \* of the god, says he, were held in such a

Aristides might have set out from Pergamus originally to Rome. But, indeed, 483, 26—32, places it beyond a doubt that the assumption of the chair at Pergamus was a year and some months, after what he had related μικρῷ πρόσθεν, viz. the particulars subsequent to the intended experiment of the *warm* bath. If any one will read B. 477. 1—10, also, he will see that Aristides was at Pergamus the first summer after he had been enjoined the use of the cold bath—with all his original symptoms about him—more especially the affection of the palate. And as to the surprise of the people of Smyrna to see him at their city again—this was because he had left them recently, when so ill, and so little likely to recover.

\* The method of computing or counting by the fingers, was a species of arithmetic, which had no doubt been reduced to an art in Aristides' time. His contemporary Apuleius, in his *Oratio de Magia*, vol. ii. 93, has an allusion, whence we learn that to count *ten*, it was usual *circularē digitos*, to express

thirty, *aperire digitos*, to denote forty, *palmam porrigere*.

There is a short account of the same mode of reckoning, in Bede, *De Ratione Temporum*, at the beginning; which, however, does not altogether agree with what may be collected, upon the same subject, from the above passage of Apuleius. We meet with an allusion to this peculiar species of arithmetic in Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, ii. 64: whence it appears that the cypher or nothing, was denoted by the same position of the fingers as the number 3800: δέυτερον δὲ καὶ ὅτι αἰεὶ εἰώθαμεν διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης θέσεως τῶν δακτύλων, τῶν τρισχιλίων ὀκτακοσίων, σημαίνειν τὸ οὐδέν. Ælian also, *De Natura Animalium*, vi. 58: where he is speaking of the regular periodic reappearance of the phoenix, observes: καὶ διὰ ταῦτά τοι μήτε δακτύλων δεδεημένοι, ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς εἰς ἐπιστήμην ἀριθμητικῆς. Cf. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Invectiva in Julianum* 1<sup>a</sup>: σὸν τὸ ἀπαικίζειν; τὸ πεττεύειν δὲ, καὶ ἀριθμεῖν, καὶ λογίζεσθαι δακτύλοις τινῶν; Suidas, in voce Ἀρβαζάκιος, and Μουσουργοί, and Aristides, *Operum* ii. 335. l. 6. *Oratio* xlv.

position that, while they represented the numbers *three* and *ten*, they represented the number *seventeen* also. And there is actually a note of time in the fifth discourse, which belongs to a period not less than sixteen years, as we shall see hereafter, from the beginning of the whole <sup>c</sup>. This may authorize the inference that Aristides, dating from the first month of his illness, would not be perfectly well, until the seventeenth or eighteenth year, though he might be decidedly convalescent in his tenth or his thirteenth: see Δ. 502–505.

The origin of the denomination *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* is to be traced up to a vision, recorded B. 467. 16; which I should not mention but for its reference to this question: ὡς ἐπειδὴ ἐγενόμεθα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν νύκτων φανείς ὁ θεὸς τῷ τροφῇ μου ἐν τῷ Σαλβίου, τοῦ νῦν ὑπάτου, σχήματι· ὅστις δὲ ὁ Σάλβιος, οὐπω τότε γε ᾔδειμεν\* . . . ἐπισημῆναιτο ὡδί λέγων, ἱεροὶ λόγοι. The time of this vision was the first month of the process: but the allusion to Salvius, in whose form the god appeared, and to Salvius as at that time not personally known to the author, but who afterwards became so, according to its most natural and obvious construction is an allusion to some one who was, or had just been, consul when Aristides was writing these accounts.

Now he tells us repeatedly that he did not compose these *λόγοι* until several years after the beginning of

mention an anecdote of Orontes the Persian, whence it appears that the little finger, according to this mode of reckoning, denoted at one time twenty, at another, ten thousand. Cf. the Greek Anthology, ii. 146. Lollii Bassi ii: iv. 211. Ἀδέσποτα, cccxxxvii. and Suidas, Κατὰ δάκτυλον.

\* The words which follow here: ὁ δ' ἐτύγχανε προσεδρεύων τῷ θεῷ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον— which Masson and others refer to Salvius, are rather to be referred to Aristides' τροφεὺς, Zosimus: ὅστις δὲ ὁ Σάλβιος, οὐπω τότε γε ᾔδειμεν—is a mere parenthesis.

<sup>c</sup> 544. 15, compared with 540. 23: 476. 28.

the events which they record : until he had lost many of his memoranda, made at the time, and had almost forgotten the things themselves. It must be observed too, that the manifestation of Æsculapius at the commencement of the business, giving a name to accounts not written until the end of it—and in the particular form of a man who was consul when the accounts were written ; is intended to imply that all this was preternatural : the god chose to appear, at the outset of his work, in such and such a form, because the discourses which commemorated it, and therefore were to be called *ἱεροὶ*, should be written when that person was actually consul ; and should obtain the name *then*, which was given to them prospectively *now*.

Nor can it be said that the discourses were written, and therefore that Salvius was consul, at the end of the *thirteen* years in question ; for they were not written until Aristides was restored to health : and he was not restored before the thirteenth year at least. The sixth discourse itself brings down the history of his cure to the twelfth year. But the account of the second visit to Cyzicus, referred to above, and at the distance of four years exactly from the first, brings it down to a still later period : for the time of that first visit was not earlier than the twelfth year of the process ; nor, consequently, that of the second than the sixteenth.

Now this second visit is spoken of as a visit *ἐναγχος γενομένη* ; that is, as a recent event in reference to the time when Aristides was writing. We have here then a proof that he was not writing the history of his cure under sixteen years from its commencement. But, if he was not writing at the end of the thirteen years, he must have been at the end of the seventeen : and at the time when he was writing

some Salvius was, or had just been consul. A Salvius Julianus appears in the Fasti Consulares, U. C. 928, A. D. 175, Marci xv.\* whom I consider to be the Salvius in question. Let us suppose that Aristides was writing the history of his case this year; for which supposition additional reasons will appear elsewhere. Reckon back seventeen years from U. C. 928, A. D. 175, and you come to U. C. 911, A. D. 158, as the first year of the process: a conclusion which nothing in the six discourses, as far as I have yet been able to discover, can be shewn to invalidate.

He informs us, (B. 466. 12. 25,) and still more minutely 483. 29. 484. 3, that his sickness as such †, seized him first upon his return from Italy or Rome: whither he set out, χερμῶνος μεσοῦντος, (481. 6.) at the end

\* It is true, that the consuls for this year are otherwise represented simply as Piso et Julianus. But a *Salvius* Julianus is mentioned by Spartian, (Hadrianus, 18.) as an eminent juriconsult in the reign of Hadrian: (Cf. Jerome, in Chronico, ad annum Hadriani xv. and Spartian, Julianus, 1:) another, as the maternal uncle of the emperor Didius Julianus: (Spartian, Julianus, 1:) and Dio, lxxii. 5, tells us that Julianus *Selvius*, or rather *Salvius*, was put to death by Commodus, at the beginning of his reign: Cf. Lampridius, Commodus, 3, 4: Spartian, Julianus, 2. This was about U. C. 935. A. D. 182. That the *gens Salvia* then bore the cognomen of Julianus, is certain; and consequently the Salvius of Aristides may be well understood implicitly of Julianus, and the Julianus of the Fasti, of Salvius. Nor would it be easy to say what other Salvius, but some

Salvius Julianus, was consul in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The circumstance of this Julianus' being consul in the reign of Marcus is cursorily mentioned by Suidas, in his account of the sophist Damophilus, brought up by this Julianus; which is some slight argument that Aristides' Salvius was the same person: for Salvius in Aristides is evidently supposed to be a patron of letters and literary men, like the sophists of his time. Philostratus, Vitæ Sophistarum ii. 551. B. Herodes Atticus, quotes the Epistles of Herodes to Julianus as well known. This was probably the same person.

† I say his sickness as such; for he was ill in some respect when he returned from Egypt, and ill also when he set out to Rome. But he dates the process of his cure from the time when Æsculapius first appeared to him; and that was after his return from Italy.



of *one* year—where he was at the time of the Ludi Apollinares, that is, the month of July, in the next <sup>f</sup>—and whence he set out, and reached home on his return, within a month after the autumnal equinox, in the same. The years of his sickness, then, bear date from the month of November in every year <sup>g</sup>. And if the first began, November, U. C. 910, A. D. 157, the seventeenth expired, November, U. C. 927, A. D. 174: and the next year, ex Kalendis Januariis, Salvius Julianus was consul.

The reader, however, should be apprised that the order of these *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* is not strictly historical. The second is in reality the earliest. The very exordium proves that it begins much further back than the first: *φέρει δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω μνημονεύσωμεν, εἴαν τι δυνώμεθα*. He has a similar phrase elsewhere: *φέρει δὴ καθάπερ κλίμακος ἀεὶ τῷ ἀνωτέρω προϊόντες, ἑτέρου τῶν ὑπὲρ ταῦτα μνημονεύσωμεν*<sup>h</sup>. The first discourse professes to give an account, or at least to begin with an account of *τὸ τοῦ ἥτρου*, the affection of the abdomen: but, even after that, it passes to the case of an abscess or imposthume, *τὸ τοῦ φύματος, πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρότερον*<sup>i</sup>: which, notwithstanding, was part of the whole process as much as the other.

In fact, we may infer from 460. 3, 4, that not less than five or six years had elapsed since the commencement of the illness, up to the time in the account of the affection *τοῦ ἥτρου*, where the following remark comes in—which is about the twenty-fourth of the month Lenæon: *τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀλουσιῶν τί τις ἂν λέγοι; ἤδη γὰρ καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν συνεχῶς ἐγένοντό μοι. καὶ προσέτι μνηῶν, ὅσα γε μὴ χειμῶνος ὥρα θαλάσση ἢ ποταμοῖς ἢ φρέυσιν ἐκέλευσε χρῆσασθαι*. Now the god had commanded him to use the cold bath in the depth of win-

<sup>f</sup> Δ. 511. 5. 15.<sup>g</sup> Cf. Δ. 502. 1—20.<sup>h</sup> Δ. 531. 1. 3.<sup>i</sup> 460. 22.

ter, from the first day of his manifesting himself to him<sup>k</sup>. So that this system of ἀλουσίαι, except at such times, had been going on from the beginning of the business: and the sixth year or more of its observance was current when this allusion to it was made. In other words, the affection of the ἡτρον, which the first discourse begins with describing, was in the sixth year of the process, or later; and, consequently, as referred to the date established, not earlier than A. D. 163. *in-eunte*.

The truth is, each of the λόγοι is of a rambling and desultory character, passing from one topic to another, just as they happened to be associated in the recollection of the writer; but without much regard to the strict order of succession.

These observations being premised, certain of the passages, which speak of governors of Asia, may be cited as follows.

Ἦν δὲ ἡγεμὼν τῆς Ἀσίας τότε ἀνὴρ καὶ μάλα τῶν γνωρίμων Σεβήρος<sup>1</sup>—Οἶον δ' αὖ καὶ τὸ πρόσθεν τούτων ἐνιαυτῷ σχεδὸν γενόμενον, ἐπὶ Πολλίωνος ἄρχοντος τῆς Ἀσίας<sup>m</sup>—Φερεῖ δὴ καθάπερ κλίμακος ἀεὶ τῷ ἀνωτέρῳ προϊόντες, ἐτέρου τῶν ὑπερ ταῦτα μνημονεύσωμεν. ὁ σοφιστῆς, οὗ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, ἤρχεν<sup>n</sup>—Ὁμοιον δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπάντων τούτων γενόμενον . . . καὶ μου διατρίβοντος ἔτι αὐτόθι ὁ ἡγεμὼν Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπέρχεται<sup>o</sup>.

I have stated these passages in their proper order of time: and ascending upwards from the first, they shew the names of Severus, Pollio, ὁ σοφιστῆς, and Julianus, as one after another presidents of Asia: Pollio in the year before Severus, and the sophist sometime after Julianus. The person thus indefinitely described as the sophist, is called by no other name; but the refer-

<sup>k</sup> B. 470. 10. 24.  
<sup>o</sup> 532. 9. and *ad calcem*.

<sup>1</sup> Δ. 505. 5.

<sup>m</sup> 529. 24.

<sup>n</sup> 531. 3.

ence to him, οὐ μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, is to what occurs just before—σοφιστῆς τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ μάλα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν<sup>p</sup>, κ', τ. λ. He appears *there* to Aristides not in reality, but in a dream or vision\*.

\* The life of Herodes Atticus by Philostratus, is abundantly sufficient to prove that a description like that given above, of σοφιστῆς τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ μάλα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, would apply with the utmost propriety to a man so remarkable as he was, for his talents, his munificence and generosity, and even the eccentricities of his character. I consider it therefore exceedingly probable that he is the person here meant. There is no necessity to prove that he was a contemporary of Aristides, as that is an unquestionable point. It is requisite only to shew that he might be governor of Asia A.D. 164–165.

Herodes Atticus, as well as his father, was twice consul: ἥρα μὲν γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν μᾶλλον ὁ Ἡρώδης, ἢ τοῦ ὑπατός τε καὶ ἐξ ὑπάτων δοκεῖν: Philostratus, Polemo, 536. A: and again, ἐτέλει μὲν ἐκ πατέρων ἐς τοὺς δισυνπάτους: Ibid. Herodes Atticus, 545. A. He appears as consul, accordingly, once in the Fasti, U. C. 896, in the sixth of Antoninus Pius: in which year, as we learn from various passages in Frontonis Opera Inedita, Fronto also, another of the preceptors of

Marcus Aurelius, was consul suffectus ex Kalendis Juliis: a fact not specified in the Fasti Consulares. His second consulate, Philostratus says, was deferred some time, in consequence of the death of Regilla his wife; and that death appears to have happened about the time when Bradua her brother was consul, U. C. 913, in the last year of Antoninus Pius: Vita, 554. B–D. Yet there is no reason to suppose he might not still be consul either this year or the next, especially as he must have been only consul suffectus. His name would appear again in the Fasti, had he been a second time consul ἐπώνυμος, or *ordinarius*.

If Herodes was twice consul, he might twice also be governor of Asia, as it is certain that he was once. The time of this first government, it appears from Philostratus' life of Polemo, 536. A—538. D, was when Polemo was in the acme of his reputation at Smyrna; and that, as it may be inferred from the particulars of his history, must have been in the first half of the reign of Antoninus Pius<sup>q</sup>. This would be not long after Herodes' con-

<sup>p</sup> Δ. 520. 20. was discharged by Herodes at this time, had been discharged also by Atticus his father, before him, in the reign of Hadrian: See Philostratus, Vitæ Sophistarum, ii. 547. A—D. It is quite clear from the context of this account, that it relates to Herodes Atticus the father, and not Herodes Atticus the son; he also being called indifferently either Herodes or Atticus. This is proved especially by what Philostratus proceeds to relate of the will of this Herodes or Atticus, 547. D—548. B: for this was the will of Atticus the father.

The cities subject to the government in question, on either occasion, are called

Now, if we refer back to Δ. 502–505, and compare it also with 523. 1–6; 551. 3–11, nothing will be

sular year, the sixth of his reign, U. C. 896. On the same principle, a second government of Asia might ensue about the same distance of time, after his second consulship; and if the latter was U. C. 913 or 914, the former might be U. C. 917 or 918. Herodes was once the preceptor, and ever after the friend of Marcus Aurelius; which would be an additional reason for supposing that he might be early in office as proconsul, after he had been again consul.

Philostratus tells us that Aristides himself was brought up at Athens, *κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀκμῇν*, so that they were doubtless personally acquainted: Aristides, 578. D. From the nature of the allusion to the sophist in question, it seems a probable inference that when Aristides was writing, he was dead. The time of the death of Herodes Atticus may be very distinctly ascertained; and will be found to agree with this conclusion.

Herodes was not dead when Pausanias described the Odeum or theatre, which he built at Athens, in memory of his wife Regilla, (Philostratus, 549. A. D. 554. D.) The description of this work is given vii. 20. § 3. under the head of the Achaica, instead of its proper place, which was rather τὰ Ἀττικά; because when Pausanias was writing his Attica, it had not been begun, but when he arrived at his Achaica, it was completed. The age of Pausanias is easily to be determined. Besides Hadrian, so often mentioned by him, he mentions both Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, viii. 43: he specifies the 235th Olympiad, x. 34. § 3: he says it was 217 years from the restitution of Corinth to his own time, and he dates this restitution U. C. 710: v. 1. §. 1. ii. 1. §. 2. Herodes Atticus was consequently not yet dead, U. C. 927. Pausanias alludes to him, as still his contemporary, i. 19, §. 7. and ii. 1. §. 7. Nor does he mention him in his description of

by Philostratus the *ἐλεύθεραι πόλεις* of Asia: their number being stated at 500. We may infer that this designation is intended to imply they were subject to the proconsular deputy, but not to the imperial legate; the former of which was more consistent with the show of liberty than the latter. But whether they were all comprehended in the proconsular province of Asia exclusively, or were such cities through the whole of Asia as were possessed of peculiar privileges and franchises, may be doubtful. The latter is most probable.

From an obscure allusion which occurs in Philostratus, *Vitæ Sophistarum*, ii. 553. C. D. to some quarrel between Herodes and Antoninus, (which, if the text is not corrupt, requires to be understood of Antoninus Pius, afterwards emperor,) it would appear that Herodes was in Asia when Antoninus was governor of Asia; a circumstance referred to, *Vitæ Sophistarum*, i. 533. A—534. A. Polemio—which also, it appears from the same, 532. B—D. was in the reign of Hadrian. I call this allusion obscure, because of the depravation of the text; in consequence whereof, it is not easy to say whether Herodes or Antoninus is to be supposed the governor of Asia when this affair happened. But the latter is the more probable. And this will imply that Herod's government of the free cities, and his father's, were very different things.



clearer than this conclusion; viz. that the precise time when Severus is spoken of as governor of Asia is in

Marathon, i. 32; though the latter part of his life, probably after the time when Pausanias had done with this part of his work, until his death, was spent there in preference to Athens; and Herodes, by his own will, should have been buried at Marathon, had not the Athenians forcibly brought his body to Athens, and buried it in the city<sup>r</sup>. Philostratus, ii. Herodes, 560. D. 564. B. Cf. Ibid. Alexander, 569. C. 572. C.

It appears also that Herodes was still living at the time of the rebellion of Cassius, and at that of the death of Faustina: Vita, 561. B—D. Both these events happened the same year, U.C. 928: the former in the spring quarter, the latter in the autumnal. See Capitolinus, Marcus, 26: Lampridius, Commodus, 2. 1. 11, 12: Dio, lxxi. 30: Eckhel, vii. 62. 76. 79.

There is no proof, however, that he was alive after this time. The letter of Marcus above referred to, and written to him from Asia, after his wife's death, expresses an hope that he might find him at Athens, when he came to be initiated in the mysteries. Marcus was accordingly initiated in the autumn of the next year, U.C. 929, and had returned to Rome by the end of the year: Dio, lxxi. 31, 32: Capitolinus, Marcus, 27: Lampridius, Commodus, *locis citatis*. But when he was at Athens, Hadrianus, not Herodes, was filling the chair

of the sophist, Philostratus, ii. Hadrian, 585. B—D: and we are told, that besides being a pupil of Herodes, (Cf. Suidas, in 'Αδριανός,) he pronounced his funeral oration, and succeeded to him, having been appointed by Marcus himself—after the death of Herodes: Ibid. 583. D. 582. C. The year of the death of Herodes was, therefore, in all probability U.C. 928. Nor is it unlikely that he died if not before the arrival, yet soon after the receipt, of the emperor's letter, which he wrote subsequently to the decease of Faustina. He was an old man at the time of his death, being seventy-six years of age.

The fact, at least, mentioned of him by Philostratus, ii. 563. D. 564. A. of his failing, when a young man, in an attempt to speak before the emperor in Pæonia or Pannonia, could not possibly have happened in the reign of Marcus, or even in that of Antoninus Pius. It most probably happened in the time of Hadrian, at the beginning of whose reign Herodes would be about twenty years old; and who was doubtless in Pæonia or Pannonia more than once in his reign, as in almost every other part of his dominions; which we do not know of Antoninus Pius.

Suidas' account of Herodes Atticus, (Cf. ad 'Ηρώδης) contains some few particulars not mentioned by Philostratus; as

<sup>r</sup> Philostratus, ii. 564. C. has preserved the epitaph inscribed upon his tomb. 'Αττικοῦ 'Ηρώδης Μαραθώνιος, οὗ τάδε πάντα, | κείται τῷδε τάφῳ, πάντοθεν εὐδόκιμος. Cf. Anthologia, iv. 238. 'Αδέσποτα, DLXXVII.

the *tenth* year current of Aristides' cure—some time in the winter quarter, not long after the solstice; and

for instance that he was called Julius, (forsan Claudius,) and that his grandfather's name was Plutarchus. In other respects it seems an abridgment of Philostratus, whom it quotes. It makes him flourish under Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius, and to be a contemporary of Aristides—(which is all correct) enumerates his two principal buildings at Athens, and the titles of his works; and supposes him to die at seventy-six.

There are two monuments of antiquity in the Greek Anthology, vol. iii. 14—17, consisting of poems in hexameter verse, which throw some light on the history of Herodes Atticus and his family. The first of these, for any thing which appears in it, may have been the composition of Herodes himself. The second is attributed to Marcus; as I should understand, of Side, (probably of Side in Pamphylia,) a celebrated physician and an equally celebrated poet—whom the testimony of the Greek Anthology, iv. 239. Ἀδέσποτα, DLXXIX. and Suidas, (ad vocem Μάρκελλος,) shew to have flourished from the reign of Hadrian down to the reign of Marcus Antoninus, and under that prince; so that he was strictly a contemporary of Herodes Atticus.

It is not my intention to examine either of these poems in detail. The reader will find a copious commentary upon each of them, in the annotations belonging to that part of the Anthology. I will observe only,

in reference to the first, that it appears from its internal evidence, to have been an inscription commemorative of the dedication of a plot of ground, in the neighbourhood of Rome, to serve as a burial place to the family of Herodes: and in order to secure it against being profaned to any other purpose, specially consecrated to the tutelary protection of Minerva and Nemesis. It seems that Herodes had possessions, which he obtained through Regilla his wife, in the neighbourhood of Rome. To a part of these, in imitation, most probably, of the example set by Hadrian in the use of denominations borrowed from other celebrated places, and transferred to his Tiburtine villa in Italy, (see Spartian, 26.) Herodes gave the name of Triopium or Triopum—after the locality of the same appellation, sacred to Ceres, near Cnidus in Caria. Herodes' Triopium is mentioned in ancient Inscriptions, as lying on the Appian high road, within three miles of Rome. Accordingly the present inscription was discovered, A. D. 1607, on the site of that same road.

With regard to the other Inscription, there is an allusion in it, at verse 46, which requires to be understood of the Odeum, or Theatre, at Athens, built by Herodes to the memory of Regilla; and therefore proving that the date of this allusion could not be earlier than U. C. 927: and there is another in it to the deification of Faustina, verse 48. sqq., which being understood of

consequently A. D. 167, *ineunte*: and if the governors of Asia, at this time, as in the reigns of Tiberius,

Faustina Junior, deified after her death, U. C. 928, no less than Faustina Senior, also deified upon her death, U. C. 894, (see Capitolinus, Pius, 6, and Marcus, 26, and the extant coins of both the Faustinas,) would prove that its date could not be earlier than U. C. 928 *exeunte*, or U. C. 929 *ineunte*. The reference to Faustina Minor is further shewn to be correct by the allusion to the Ceres Nova, and Ceres Antiqua, *Δηώ τε νέη, Δηώ τε παλαιή*, in verse 6: the former requiring to be understood of the younger Faustina, to whom this title is given in extant coins and inscriptions—and the latter possibly, though not necessarily, of the elder.

It seems an obvious inference from these facts, that the date of this poem could not be earlier, though it might be later, than U. C. 929. In fact, it commemorates the dedication of a statue or shrine to Regilla the wife of Herodes, within a temple dedicated to Faustina; and therefore after her death and deification. The commentators upon it seem unanimously to take it for granted, that both the temple and the statue were so dedicated, in the lifetime of Herodes himself. But I see nothing in the internal evidence of the inscription which would necessarily lead to that conclusion. On the contrary, my own impression from that evidence is, that both the temple and the statue were dedicated by his son Atticus, after his father's death. If the reader will take the trouble to

refer to verses 19–37 of the original, he will soon be convinced that the young Atticus is a very prominent, if not the most prominent, subject of the poem. It appears from Philostratus, 557. A–B. that Herodes left him his maternal possessions, (consequently the *prædia* in question in the neighbourhood of Rome,) but not the rest of his property; which would be in Attica, about Marathon: and it appears further, from verse 49, that the temple dedicated to Faustina, within which this statue was placed, lay in that same *Troïpium*, referred to in the former inscription, and belonging to Herodes near Rome. I am entirely of opinion then, that the inscription in question commemorates the dedication of a statue to the memory of his mother Regilla, by the younger Atticus, after his father's death.

The inference at least from this inscription, that Regilla was only recently dead, when this honour was paid to her memory, is absolutely contradictory to other well established facts. It seems quite certain that Herodes himself was not living when the emperor Marcus visited Athens, U. C. 929: that Regilla was dead when her brother was consul, U. C. 913: and that this inscription cannot bear an earlier date than U. C. 929.

The inscription tells us, 13–18, that of Herodes' children by Regilla, one half died before their mother, and two survived her, but of an age too young to be conscious of her loss. This



Claudius, Trajan, came into, and went out of, office, at the midsummer or in the autumn of a given year—

implies that he had four children by her in all. Philostratus mentions only three by name—two daughters, Panathenais and Elpinice, and one son, Atticus; but the fourth may have been the stillborn child of which Regilla died in childbed: 554. A—B. It appears further that these surviving children must have been his daughter Elpinice and his son Atticus. See Philostratus, 556. C. D. This daughter too had been sometime dead, when Herodes was cited to appear before Marcus at Sirmium in Pannonia; and in her stead and her sister's, he had adopted two of the daughters of his freedman Alcimedon: see Philostratus, 559. A—C: who were then of a marriageable age, that is, twelve or thirteen years old at the least. But the time of this trial does not appear, except that it must have been later than the death of Lucius Verus, U. C. 922: see 558. C. D. 559. C: but before Marcus's visit to the East, U. C. 928, and when Herodes was an old man: 559. C. D.

The inscription records that for reasons there specified, verse 19, &c. the reigning king (which must be understood of Marcus) had conferred on Herodes' son (who is so spoken of, as to imply he was his only male, and apparently his only surviving child) the privilege of wearing the calceus lunatus—(as here described: see also Philostratus, 554. B); which being the well-known symbol of the Patrician or senatorian rank, intimates

that he made him a senator. Cf. verses 34, 35. It is very probable that this distinction was conferred upon him immediately after his father's death; to whom the emperor Marcus had been fully reconciled, U. C. 928, after Faustina's death—as Philostratus relates, 561. B—D. If so, this distinction would be conferred upon him, U. C. 929. Let us suppose he was then of the proper senatorial age—which, perhaps, in these times, cannot be reckoned later than twenty-five. On this principle, the young Atticus would be born U. C. 905, and if his mother died U. C. 912, would then be only seven years of age; an age to which the description in verses 15–18 of the inscription would still be strictly applicable. To make an end, however, of this digression—I will mention further only, that Philostratus, ii. 545. A. and Suidas, *loco citato*, make Herodes a descendant of Æacus; the inscription verse 33, calls him a descendant of Ceryx (the son of Mercury). He might be descended from both. Philostratus' Lives of the Sophists are dedicated to one, whom he describes as ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατος Ἀντώνιος—and he also it appears was a lineal descendant of Herodes Atticus. It is possible that this might be Antonius Gordianus, Consul, A. D. 213. ex Kal. Mart. and again A. D. 229: and who was afterwards killed in Africa, A. D. 238. Vide Philostratus, 485, 486: and Cf. Capitolinus' Life of the Three Gordians.

Philostratus,



A. D. 167, in the tenth year current of Aristides' sickness, would be in Severus' last half year of office.

Philostratus, in his life of Scopelianus, i. 521. C—522. B, describes Herodes as a youth, *μειράκιον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ ἔτι*, when Scopelianus was appointed to go on the embassy *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμπέλων*, the culture of which had been prohibited by Domitian; and passed through Athens, on his way to Rome. I shall not stop to inquire in what year of his reign Domitian issued this prohibition. Eusebius and Jerome, in Chronico, place it in the twelfth, U. C. 845, Prosper, Chronicon, 707, in the next year, U. C. 846. I shall observe only that Philostratus supposes the father of Herodes Atticus to be a very rich man at the time of this visit; rich enough to make his son a present of 500 talents at once, and Scopelianus one of 15. Yet he informs us himself, 546. C, that he acquired his wealth by the fortunate discovery of a treasure in the reign

of Nerva. *Μειράκιον* implies what we mean by a youth—fifteen or sixteen years of age. If Herodes died U. C. 928, at seventy-six, he was born U. C. 852: so that he could not even be living in the reign of Domitian<sup>s</sup>.

Among celebrated sophistæ, who were more immediately connected with Smyrna, we may enumerate Nicetes of Smyrna, (Philostratus, i. 511–513:) Scopelianus, (Ibid. 514–522,) a pupil of Nicetes, and a professor of rhetoric at Smyrna, as well as he: Polemo, (Ibid. 530–543,) a native of Laodicea in Phrygia, but an adopted citizen of Smyrna, (like Apelles, the celebrated painter, a native of Colophon, but a citizen by adoption of Ephesus: Suidas, Ἀπελλῆς <sup>t</sup>)—who succeeded to Scopelianus when he became old, and flourished in the reign of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus. This man appears to have been the most illustrious of the

<sup>s</sup> Yet the above statements of Philostratus may after all be consistent with this fact: for it does not distinctly appear that he supposed this visit of Scopelianus to Athens to have synchronized with the time of the embassy of the latter *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμπέλων*, and not with some later period, which might come in the reign of Trajan: especially as Scopelianus was then in possession of the Sophist's chair at Smyrna, and in the acme of his reputation; which we may presume he would not be, until after the death of his master Nicetes, who yet lived up to the reign of Nerva. Or if the visit to Athens in question must be placed about the time of the embassy *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμπέλων*, I should be inclined to think that the βασιλεὺς who had issued the decree, prohibiting the culture of the vine, in this instance, was not Domitian but Hadrian: see 520. D—521. C. That description may apply to Hadrian, but not to Domitian. Besides, this decree was restricted, as it would seem, to Asia: but Domitian's prohibition extended to the whole empire. If this fact is not mentioned of Hadrian, as I believe it is not, in the contemporary historians; the reason may be, that the decree was only meditated, and never carried into effect.

<sup>t</sup> Nothing in fact was more common at this time, than for persons of any repute or distinction to be citizens of a variety of places. In the Marmora Oxoniensia, xxxiv. 71. a celebrated Κιθαροφῶδς there specified is described as a Pergamene, a Smyrnaean, an Athenian, and an Ephesian, all at once; and his ὑποφωνασκάς, also specified, as an Ephesian, a Smyrnaean, and a Pergamene.

In the same tenth year current, occurs another note of time to this effect: καὶ χρόνοις δὴ ὕστερον ἢ λοιμώδης

sophists in question; and had he been living in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, it might have been supposed that Aristides alluded to him: especially, as Philostratus mentions that there was a statue of his, in a temple at Smyrna, near the sea. But he died at fifty-six; and probably about the middle of the reign of Antoninus Pius, just after he had been appointed to plead the cause of Smyrna, ὑπὲρ τῶν ναῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δικαίων, but before he had time to set out upon the journey to Rome. His early death is attributed to his being a martyr to the gout; and if Philostratus is to be believed, he caused himself to be buried alive, and that not at Smyrna, but at Laodicea his native place: Vita, i. 542. B—543. B.

Add to which that Suidas, in his brief memoir of Gregory Nazianzen, whose style he tells us was modelled upon that of Polemo, calls him the teacher of Aristides; and Aristides does not speak of the sophist in question in any such manner as a pupil might be expected to speak of his master. The same statement is repeated by Suidas in his notice of Dionysius the Areopagite; and in his account of Polemo himself, whom he describes as the disciple of Scopelianus, and the master of Aristides: and as contemporary with Trajan, and μετ' αὐτόν. In fact, it appears from Philostratus, Vitæ Sophistarum, i. 495. A—C. 541. A, that he was contemporary with Phavori-

nus, as Phavorinus (Ibid. 493. C. D.) was chiefly with Hadrian. Phavorinus too was the contemporary and friend of Herodes Atticus; and dying before him, left him part at least of his possessions. Ibid. 494. D.

Coins of Smyrna, as we before observed, are extant, with the title of Sophista, and the name of Attalus, the son of Polemo: Eckhel, ii. 554, 555. iii. 163. iv. 221. Attalus the son of Polemo is mentioned also in Philostratus, ii. 604, 605, in his life of Hermocrates of Phocæa, of whom Attalus is said to have been grandfather; Rusinianus the father of Hermocrates having married Callisto, the daughter of Attalus. Both, it seems, were contemporary with Severus: see Vitæ Sophistarum, ii. 605. D: 603. C. D: 604. A, at a time when Severus was in the East. Cf. 606. A. Hermocrates, the grandson of Attalus, inherited from him among other things, the right of wearing purple, see 606. B: which recognises the fact of his having filled some high civic or sacerdotal station, like that of the Scriba, or Archiereus, or Asiararch, at Smyrna—to wear a purple robe being a general attribute of office, such at least as entailed the right of wearing a στέφανος, or chaplet: see Artemidorus, i. 79: ii. 3. He died at 25 or 28. See 607. C.

Some learned men have considered it probable that Nicetes, who is mentioned in the Acta of Polycarp, as the father of Herodes the Irenarch, and alive at

ἐκείνη συνέβη νόσος, ἥς ὁ τε σωτήρ, καὶ ἡ δέσποινα Ἀθηνᾶ περιφανῶς ἐρρύσαντό με<sup>†</sup> \*. The preservation here re-

the time of the apprehension of Polycarp, was the Nicetes of Smyrna, whose life has been written by Philostratus: *loco laudato*. But Nicetes does not appear to have long survived the reign of Nerva, though he was certainly living at the beginning of it: and as he was succeeded by Scopelianus, so was Scopelianus by Polemo, both before the reign of Antoninus Pius. Suidas, Σκοπελιανός, makes Scopelianus contemporary with Nerva, and an hearer of Nicetes. He makes him also contemporary with Apollonius of Tyana, who died in the reign of Nerva: see the life of Apollonius, i. 17. 11. and viii. 11, 12. There is an epigram extant of Automedon of Cyzicus, which describes the eloquence of one Nicetes, most probably the Nicetes of Smyrna, contemporary with Nerva: Anthologia, ii. 193. xi. It is not certain that Nicetes left a son. In the Marmora Oxoniensia, xlviii. 79. ver. 20, mention occurs of Κλαυδία Νεικήτου; which, as the time is the reign of Hadrian, is more probably his daughter, than his wife. Euodius, whose life also has been written by Philostratus, was a descendant of Nicetes, 593, B. though it is not said he was his son—and an hearer of Polemo's. It is most probable that if Nicetes, contemporary with the martyrdom of Polycarp, was a descendant of the sophist of Smyrna, he was his grandson. This was a very possible case, at the distance of perhaps sixty-six years from his death.

In the opera inedita of Fronto, there is a letter of Verus to Fronto, Epp. ad Verum, ix. pars 1<sup>a</sup>, 100, which speaks of his having recently heard Polemo declaiming, and describes the character of his eloquence. This epistle was written to Fronto when consul; and his consulship, as it may be collected from various parts of the same work, coincided with the year of Herodes Atticus' first consulate also, U. C. 896: ex Kalendis Juliis. Polemo was certainly then alive; but this was early in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

\* This is sufficient to prove that, B. 471. 14. 475. 1, by one of those abrupt transitions so common to him, Aristides passes from the account of the prediction relating to the thirteen years, though it took place at the beginning of the business, to the time of this plague, without regarding the intermediate particulars: the reason of which transition, as his language implies, is his anxiety to shew how the prediction was verified by the event. He considered it to be so, as far as regarded Æsculapius, when at the distance of ten years, the term prescribed by the vision, he was miraculously delivered from the plague.

That there was, in reality, not five years merely, nor six, but more, between the beginning of the process, and that stage of it when the plague happened, appears from B. 480. 20: οὐ γὰρ πεντάετες, οὐδ' ἑξάετες, οὐκ ἀρκεῖ· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλαττόνων ἕως ἐστὶ χρό-



ferred to is distinctly related B. 475. 1, and proves beyond all question that the plague, both there alluded to and here, is one and the same event. Now the plague there alluded to, as affecting πάντας σχεδὸν τοὺς προσχώρους, and prevailing to a very general extent, is placed, in point of time, κατὰ θέρους ἀκμήν: but this return from the waters of Æsepus, is placed *in* the winter, at the beginning of the year. Aristides was well for six months, after that return; which bring us from midwinter to midsummer: his guardian genii delivered him *then* from the plague at the expense of merely a fever which lasted forty days, and the life of a valuable servant, Hermeas, the brother of his foster-sister's daughter, Philumene<sup>r</sup>. The fact of the duration of the fever, it is true, is mentioned *obiter*, B. 485. 27; and like many other things, out of its regular place. But there is no doubt that it belongs to this time and occasion. We learn from it, also, that the fever extended into the winter; and, therefore, that the plague was strictly in the summer season. All this is sufficient to prove that the plague, as such, must be placed within six months of the return from the Æsepus, at which time Severus was in office: and if so, that the plague as such is to be placed while Severus was still in office.

There can be little doubt that the plague in question is the same, which is frequently noticed in contemporary history; which Eusebius and Jerome suppose in the eighth of Marcus Aurelius; and which Capitolinus

νων ἡ διήγησις ἣ ἐν ὅσοις τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο. Compare 481. 3.

It is not improbable that, in consequence of the appearance of Minerva on this occasion, Aristides wrote his second ora-

tion, εἰς Ἀθηνᾶν—which the last sentence would prove to have been written when two kings were reigning. A. D. 167, Marcus and Verus were reigning.



shews to have been at its acme in Rome, A. D. 167, in his *seventh*—the year when both Marcus and Verus set out on their expedition against the Marcomanni<sup>s</sup>. This plague, if it was one, and not an epidemic disorder of some other description, began in Upper Asia, and gradually spread from thence to Rome. It had begun in the parts about Antioch as early as U. C. 919, A. D. 166, the year in which Lucius Verus returned to Rome<sup>t</sup>.

Lucius was sent into the East, to carry on the war against the Parthians, A. D. 162, in the second of Marcus<sup>u</sup>. The war was concluded A. D. 165, in four years' time<sup>\*</sup>. Lucius returned from Syria in the fifth year, A. D. 166; and report insinuated that he carried the infection with him through the islands, and where-soever else he arrived by the way, to Rome. He might communicate the infection in Asia, as well as in other parts: and, though the pestilential state of things is said to have lasted much more than *one* year, yet there was some time during its duration more virulent than another; which was A. D. 167, the seventh of Marcus at Rome—and, if we are right in our positions, was the same in Asia likewise<sup>†</sup>. Aristides' description of

\* There are coins of Marcus, which commemorate, accordingly, the restoration of peace, in the next year, U. C. 919; Eckhel, vii. 52.

† Galen, *De libris propriis*, Operum i. 37. D—F: lib. i. cap. i: tells us the plague began at Rome, when he himself was

there, on his second visit—having been sent for by the *emperors*. This was in the thirty-fourth year of his age. The precise time of Galen's birth or death is unknown. Suidas, Γαληνός, merely tells us he flourished (γέγονεν) in Rome, under Marcus, Commodus, and Perti-

<sup>s</sup> Antoninus Philosophus, 13, 14, 17, 21: Eusebius and Jerome in *Chronico*, ad Marci viii: Eckhel, vii. 52. <sup>t</sup> Capitolinus, Verus, 8. See Dio, lxxi. 2. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 6, tells a remarkable story of the mode of the origin of the plague, in consequence of the capture of Seleucia in the present war; and says, the contagion so originated, was propagated Ab ipsis Persarum finibus, adusque Rhenum et Gallias. Cf. Capitolinus, also, *loco citato*. <sup>u</sup> Capitolinus, Verus, 7: Antoninus, 8, 13: Dio, lxxi. 1, 2: Eusebius and Jerome in *Chronico*, in which last these dates are not incorrectly given: Eckhel, vii. 49. 51.

it is plainly such as can apply to it only when it was at its height.

nax, and lived to be seventy years old. His editors (i. 95. Vita, xlii.) place his birth about Hadrian's fifteenth, U. C. 884, or 885. On this principle he was thirty-four, U. C. 917, or 918.

When he had been at Rome three years, the plague broke out; and he returned to Pergamus in his thirty-seventh year: (38. A. cap. ii.) He would be thirty-seven, U. C. 920, or 921, in the seventh or eighth of Marcus, when the plague was truly raging at Rome. He tells us also of a friend of his, Boëthus, the governor of Palestine, as having set out for his province before him, where he died; most probably of the plague. It is implied, likewise, that when Galen departed for Pergamus, the emperors set out into Germany; which, in the seventh or eighth of Marcus, was the case.

Soon after, he was recalled from Pergamus, by the emperors, who were then at Aquileia; ii. 38. D. E: where he accordingly joined them: but the moment he was got there, ἐπιβάντος οὖν μου τῆς Ἀκυλίας, κατέσκηψεν ὁ λοιμὸς ὡς οὐπω πρότερον—which gave occasion to a precipitate departure of the emperors and the court: followed by the death of Verus, on the way to Rome. As this event happened U. C. 922, in the ninth of Marcus, there is thus proof that the plague was raging for two or three years at least. Jerome in Chronico, Ad annum Marci xii. speaks of so violent a plague at Rome, that almost all the Roman

army was destroyed by it. This would be U. C. 925. Nor does it appear to have been over when Herodes Atticus had his trial before the emperor Marcus, at Sirmium in Pannonia; sometime after the death of Lucius, U. C. 922, on the one hand, (See Philostratus, Vitæ Sophistarum, ii. 558. C.) but before the revolt of Cassius, U. C. 928, on the other, 561. A. D. Philostratus makes him then say, μακάριοι οἱ ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ ἀποθνήσκοντες, not ἀποθανόντες, 560. A: which implies that persons were dying of it even at that time. So also, the saying attributed by Capitolinus to the emperor Marcus, at the time of his death, cap. 28. Add to this the testimony of Marcus, De Rebus Suis, ix. 2; a part of his work, probably written about the same time with the trial of Herod before him: see the subscription to liber i. and ii: and cf. the two incidents mentioned of Marcus, in Ammianus Marcellinus, xxi. 16, and xxii. 5. xxix. 6. Cf. also, Aurelius Victor, De Marco. Jerome, in Chronico, ad annum Marci xviii. speaks of his having been three years in stativis castris, at Carnuntum; which would be from his eleventh, U. C. 924, to his fourteenth, U. C. 927. So also Orosius, vii. 15.

Lucian, in his Alexander or Pseudomantis, ii. 243. cap. 36, gives us the following incidental account of the plague, where he is relating the various tricks and artifices of that impostor: ἐν αὐτῇ τινι χρησμῶν αὐτόφωνον καὶ

We have therefore in this coincidence a clear historical criterion that Severus' year of office was A. D.

αὐτὸν, εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ διεπέμψατο. ἦν δὲ τὸ ἔπος ἐν Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης λοιμοῦ νεφέλην ἀπερύκει.—καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἔπος πανταχοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν γεγραμμένον, ὡς τοῦ λοιμοῦ ἀλεξιφάρμακον. τὸ δ' ἐς τοῦναντίον τοῖς πλείστοις προὔχῳρει. κατὰ γάρ τινα τύχην αὐταὶ μάλιστα αἱ οἰκίαι ἐκενώθησαν, ἐν αἷς τὸ ἔπος ἐπεγέγραπτο.

In Aristides also, there is another allusion to it, *Oratio* li. πρὸς τοὺς αἰτιωμένους, 572. 25: διελέχθη μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν καὶ πρότερον περὶ τούτων, ἥνυχ' ὁ λοιμὸς ἤκμαζε, τοῦ θεοῦ παρέλθειν κελεύσαντος. It appears from 577. 3-8, that the time of this oration was comparatively late in his history.

According to Herodian, i. 36, a violent plague broke out in Italy and at Rome, early in the reign of Commodus; which might be a continuation of this in the reign of Marcus.

Evagrius, E. H. iv. 29. 403-405. giving an account of the plague in the reign of Justinian, which broke out A. D. 542, and had continued with little or no intermission fifty-two years, from that time to his own, closes his relation of it by quoting Philostratus, in reference to some plague in his time. Φιλόστρατος γὰρ θαναμάζει ὅτιγε πεντεκαίδεκα (sc. ἔτη) ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκράτησε λοιμός. Valesius, in *notis ad locum*, expresses his ignorance who this Philostratus could be; or where he could have made this remark. It appears from Suidas, Φιλόστρατος, that there were three authors of that name, all natives of Lemnus, and Sophistæ, in their turn, and all re-

lated to each other, who flourished from the time of Nero downwards to beyond the reign of the Philippi, in the third century. One of these is probably meant by Evagrius. The second of them flourished from the reign of M. Antoninus to that of Philip. He would know of this plague in the reign of Marcus; and if that began A. D. 165, and was not over A. D. 179 or 180, he might well observe upon its having continued fifteen years. It is to be remembered, however, that another plague broke out in the reign of Gallus and Volusianus, A. D. 251 or 252: see Eusebius, in *Chronico*, and Jerome; which is historically related to have lasted fifteen years and upwards, to the end of the reign of Gallienus, A. D. 268, and even into that of Claudius, who died of it, A. D. 270: Cf. Zonaras, xii. 21. 628. B. C. Eckhel, vii. 471. Philostratus might mean this plague; that is the third Philostratus, or the second, among those referred to. Porphyry, apud Eusebium, *Evangelica Præparatio*, v. 1. 179. D. and Theodoretum, iv. 1040. *Græcorum Affectuum Curatio, Disputatio* xii. alluded to it, and to its continuance in much the same kind of way, in his work against Christianity: and Porphyry also would be contemporary with it. This plague is particularly described in Cyprian, *De Mortalitate*, 156. 158. 161, 162, &c. Vide also *Ad Demetrianum*, 186, 187, 188, 189, &c. Cf. Eckhel, vii. 352. 355, in the coins of Gallus; whence it



166—167: and consequently that of Pollio, his immediate predecessor, was A. D. 165—166. Now it is certain, as we shall see by and by, that Aristides' Quadratus was in office before either of these two: whence, if Polycarp truly suffered under Aristides' Quadratus, he suffered before A. D. 166 at least: which is enough to disprove the dates of Samuel, of Eusebius and Jerome, and of those learned men who place his martyrdom A. D. 166, or in any later year.

The fact that Pollio directly preceded Severus, is plainly enough asserted by Aristides himself; and it is further confirmed, as I apprehend, by the following coincidence. Either at Smyrna or at Pergamus; for it does not clearly appear at which, nor is it of any consequence to the argument; in the time of this Pollio, Aristides was elected ἐκλογεὺς of the βουλὴ or senate, subject to the confirmation of the governor. As this was a civil office, he pleaded in excuse of it the exemption from such offices, which the philosophical emperor Marcus had conceded, or was disposed to concede, to the philosophers, and professors of rhetoric\*. The legate of the governor, however, confirmed the appointment; and Aristides' appeal was forwarded to Rome.

Before the emperor's answer had been received, the

appears the plague was raging A. D. 251. sqq: and from 357, that it was so especially, A. D. 254. Cf. also, vii. 383. 395. the Numi vagi of Valerian and Gallienus both. To the authorities, which speak of this plague, we may add that of Orosius, vii. 21, 22. 27: who, however, though he supposes it to begin in the reign of Gallus and Volusianus, yet represents it to have intermitted a little in that

of Gallienus. It is certain, however, that it continued, nevertheless, all through the reign of Gallienus; the length of which, according to Orosius, *loco citato*, was fifteen years. Cf. cap. 23.

\* Not that this was conceded by Marcus first: for Philostratus, *Vitæ Sophistarum*, i. 494. A. Phavorinus, shews it to have existed in the time of Hadrian.



governor subsequently rescinded the act of his legate, and the decree of the municipal assembly. But in the mean time Pollio went out of office, and Severus came into it: and, at a period coinciding with the *tenth* year *incunte* of Aristides' disorder, while he was still residing near the Æsepus and the temple of Jupiter, Severus, having to nominate from a certain number of persons, representing a corresponding number of cities, one to fill the office of Irenarch, or φύλαξ τῆς εἰρήνης, (something like that of our high constable, or sheriff of the county,) pitched upon Aristides<sup>x</sup>. He was as anxious to decline this office as the former, but did not exactly know how: when, a few days afterwards, and just as conveniently for his purpose, as if they had been written expressly upon this occasion, arrived letters from the emperor and his son—in answer doubtless to Aristides' original appeal, and written, as he tells us, long before, but received just when they were most wanted, only then—τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἐπισφραγίζόμεναι, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις.

The emperor's letter was written in A. D. 166, and received in A. D. 167\*. It is to be observed that it is said to have come from Italy; and Marcus was at Rome both A. D. 166 and 167, but not later: for he set out, towards the end of A. D. 167, into Pannonia, with Lucius; and did not return again, except for a short time, until the death of Lucius, in the autumnal quarter of A. D. 169. His letter was accompanied by one from his son, which I understand to mean his son

\* Δ. 527. 1: the letter was received a little before the time of the Dionysia at Smyrna: which would be in the month of February. And if the appeal had

been sent before the autumn of the preceding year, this is about the time when the answer might be expected.

x Δ. 523, 524.

Commodus, and not his colleague Verus: though the latter, according to some authorities, is represented as having been adopted by Marcus, when Marcus was adopted by Antoninus. But the truth is, they were both adopted by Antoninus Pius, and so were brothers; not related as father and son. The difference of age between them, which was only ten years, and the circumstance that Marcus gave his own daughter in marriage to Verus, would be insuperable objections to the other supposition, even were it not contradicted by contemporary authorities, Galen, Aristides, and Dio \*.

\* Vide, what has been said upon this subject, Appendix, Dissertation xiii. vol. iii. p. 586.

The imperial letter was accompanied by one from a friend of Aristides, called Heliodorus, who is designated as "he who had been governor of Egypt." Dio speaks of him as a *ρήτωρ*, who had raised himself to civil distinction by the profession of rhetoric: lxxi. 22. An Heliodorus is twice mentioned in Spartian's Life of Hadrian, 15 and 16: coupled, in the second instance, with Epictetus; and both under the name of *philosophi*, distinguished by the intimate friendship of Hadrian. Cf. also Dio, lxix. 3. It is not impossible that the Heliodorus of Dio and of Aristides may have been the same person. Dio informs us that Avidius Cassius, whose revolt and death make a conspicuous figure in the reign of Marcus, A. D. 175, was the son of this man: and though this is not stated in Gallicanus' Life of Cassius, yet it is supported by the fact that one of Cassius' sons bore the name of Heliodorus;

in all probability after his grandfather: Capitolinus, Antoninus Philosophus, 26. At the time of the revolt of Cassius, Mæcianus, a son of Cassius, was governor of Alexandria: Capitolinus, Marcus, 25: Gallicanus, Cassius, 6: Dio, lxxi. 27—30. But this was long after the present period.

Aristides' acquaintance with Heliodorus might be formed when he visited Egypt: an event in his life which it appears from A. 451. *ad calcem*, 452. *ad principium*. Δ. 532. 13. preceded the beginning of his sickness. One of his extant orations, distinct from these *λόγοι*, is intitled *Αιγύπτιος*: viz. the xlviii. Page 437. 5. of that oration, he had four times visited, or four times explored Egypt, before he wrote the discourse in question: and *ibid.* 12. he speaks of the destruction of his *ὑπομνήματα* or memoranda concerning it; which, as we shall see hereafter, was probably in consequence of the earthquake, A. D. 170: 457. 6—19. he alludes to his visiting Elephantine, Phile, and other places; at which time, (21,) he

Now it is a critical circumstance that upon Verus' return from the East, Commodus and his brother Annius Verus were elevated to the rank of Cæsars, the same year, A. D. 166<sup>z</sup>. And as the emperor, his father, was carefully bringing him up under the most eminent philosophers and orators of his day<sup>a</sup>; it is nothing extraordinary to find his name associated in a particular compliment to one of the most distinguished of the number, Ælius Aristides—even though Commodus himself at that time was only in his sixth year\*.

was labouring under some indisposition: and 474. 8. after his visit to Egypt, when he was projecting a voyage to the Atlantic ocean, ἡμᾶς, says he, ὥρμημένους ἢ νόσος ἔφθη καταλαβοῦσα. How long after his visit, does not appear: but this allusion to ἢ νόσος absolutely, can mean nothing but his sickness, of such long duration. The last visit to Egypt, then, was certainly paid before A. D. 157.

Aristides' viii. oration, εἰς Σάραπιν, 97. 4—end, was composed in honour of this deity, at it would seem at Alexandria, in consequence of a deliverance from shipwreck on his way to Egypt, which he attributes to him. Nor is there any mention in it of Aristides' sickness as such.

\* It is said by Photius, Bibliotheca, Codex 158. p. 100, 101. that Phrynichus the Arabian, author of a Lexicon in thirty-six books, (or as Suidas, in voce, says, in forty-seven,) called Σοφιστικὴ παρασκευή, (a work, of which an abstract, in the form of a Lexicon, is still extant,) flou-

rished in the reign of Marcus and Commodus, and dedicated his first book to the latter; Κομμόδῳ Καίσαρι Φρύνιχος χαίρειν: not earlier, consequently, than, A. D. 166, when Commodus became Cæsar. His eleventh was dedicated to one Menedorus: ἐν φῶ, says Photius, καὶ Ἀριστείδου τοῖς λόγοις, ὥς φησιν, ἐντυχὼν ἄρτι, τότε ἀκμάζοντος, πολλὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔπαινον ποιεῖται. This is a curious coincidence; as the time when Phrynichus was writing his first and his eleventh books, in all probability, was about this period of Aristides' history: and it shews that a letter of compliment from Commodus, young as he was, to an orator like Aristides, would be very possible, if books on grammar and the Belles Lettres had already begun to be dedicated to him. In like manner, the still extant Onomasticon of Julius Pollux is dedicated to Commodus Cæsar; and each of the ten books of which it consists has an epistle premised to it, addressed to him; though none of them contains any allusions from which it would be possible

<sup>z</sup> Capitolinus, Antoninus Philosophus, 12: Lampridius, Commodus, 1. 11: Eckhel, vii. 102.      <sup>a</sup> Cf. Lampridius, Commodus, 1. Herodian, 1. 1.



But to proceed. The first mention of Quadratus historically, though not in the order of the λόγοι, is at

to collect the age of Commodus at the time<sup>b</sup>.

There is no mention in this instance of Commodus' twin brother, Antoninus; and for a very good reason: that, though born with him, August 31, U.C. 914, he died at four years old, U.C. 918, A. D. 165: Lampridius Commodus, i. Commodus was, consequently, now Marcus' oldest son. His surviving brother, Annius Verus, A. D. 165, would be only two or three years old: as may thus be proved.

Capitolinus tells us, that Marcus lost this son at seven years old, Sub ipsis profectiois diebus, that is, the profectio ad bellum Germanicum; and at a time when the Ludi Jovis, or Capitolini, were going on: Vita 21. The Ludi Capitolini, according to Censorinus, xviii. were instituted by Domitian, U. C. 839; and being quinquennial, like the olympic, they would be in course, U. C. 923, just eighty-four years afterwards. If Annius Verus, then, died at seven years old, when the anniversary of these games was arrived, he must have died U. C. 923; and therefore have been born, U. C. 916, or 917. He could not have died at the anniversary immediately before this, U. C. 919: for then he must have been born U. C. 912, or 913, and have

been older than Commodus himself.

Capitolinus, it is true, places his death apparently on the eve of his father's departure for Germany upon the first occasion, U. C. 920. But this must be a mistake, produced, as we may suppose, by the fact of his dying on the eve of some departure; but not necessarily of the first. There are coins of Marcus, Eckhel, vii. 56, 57, which imply, though not absolutely, that he and Verus both returned to the city, U. C. 921. There are others, again, which commemorate some *profectio*, U. C. 922; Eckhel, *ibid.* 58. Galen also shews that Marcus and Verus were both returning to Rome, when the latter died, U. C. 922, as I shall shew, in the autumn. Even Eckhel himself, who places the death of Lucius Verus, at the beginning of that year, yet supposes a departure U. C. 923, when Annius Verus died; *ibid.* 58. 82, 83. I should think this was the only departure after the death of Marcus' colleague; and that the coins which mention a *profectio*, U. C. 922, relate to some departure after the return in U. C. 921.

It may be inferred, however, even from Capitolinus, that he means the *profectio* after the death of Verus. Cap. 20, he

<sup>b</sup> Suidas, in his short memoir of Pollux, supposes him to have taught at Athens, ἐπὶ Κομύδου: and enumerates the Onomasticon among the first of his works. Philostratus, Vitæ Sophistarum, ii. 590. C. and Suidas, in all probability after him, report him to have died at fifty-eight. I should infer that he succeeded to the Sophist's chair at Athens, when Hadrian of Phœnicia, who occupied it previously, (having succeeded Herodes Atticus, U. C. 928 or 929,) was removed to Rome. See Philostratus, Hadrianus, ii. 583. D: 585. B—586. A: and Chrestus, 588. A.



Δ. 521. 3: ἀφικομένου γὰρ Κοδράτου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχήν, κ', τ. λ.: the time of which allusion is clearly determined by the whole of the fourth oration, to be earlier than the government of Severus, and consequently of Pollio. For, after giving an account of what passed between the governor and himself, Aristides adds, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἄνω χρόνων ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα ἐγεγόνειν τοῦ λόγου, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἔμελλον εὐεργεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ τρέπεσθαι, καὶ γράψειν ἐφεξῆς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων καὶ πραγμάτων γενομένας<sup>b</sup>: when the thread of the narrative is suspended to relate a *dream*: and this being over, he resumes it, premising, ἐπάνειμι δ' οὐ μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἔφην στήσας καταλείψειν τὸν λόγον<sup>c</sup>, κ', τ. λ.; to give an account of what passed between himself, and Severus, during his year of office. This was followed, as we saw, by the account of what took place between him and Pollio: then, ascending higher and higher, as by the steps of a ladder<sup>d</sup> (so he expressed it) by what passed during the year of the sophist: and lastly, by what happened, at a still earlier period, during the government of Julianus<sup>e</sup>.

It is very plain from this progressive account, that as Pollio came before Severus, so the sophist came before Pollio, and Julianus before the sophist. But where came Quadratus? I assert between Julianus and the sophist; and this will be proved more clearly by and by. At present, I observe Julianus is not placed *immediately*, only *some time*, before the sophist; therefore Quadratus might come between them: but the sophist is placed, apparently, directly before Pollio,

says, Marcus, proficiscens ad bellum Germanicum, married his daughter to Claudius Pompeianus, (cf. Herodian, i. 14.

20,) non decurso luctus tempore (which must mean, before the year or ten months' mourning for Verus was over.)

<sup>b</sup> 522. 9.

<sup>c</sup> 523. 1.

<sup>d</sup> 531. 3.

<sup>e</sup> 532. 9. 32.

as one step in a ladder is immediately higher or lower than another; so that Quadratus could not come between the sophist and Pollio. I observe, also, that as the latter half of the fourth λόγος is devoted mainly to the account of the favours or privileges, accorded by successive governors of Asia to Aristides' rhetorical eminence, so it begins with Quadratus, ἐκ τῶν ἄνω χρόνων, and pledges itself to pass on ἐφεξῆς to the rest. That it does so in a retrograde order, beginning with Severus, and ascending up to Julianus, is no objection. The order of succession is not thereby disturbed; though the order of the narrative may be somewhat inverted.

Again, when Aristides wrote first to Quadratus, he had πράγματά τινα on his hands, ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν χρόνων, περὶ ᾧ, says he, ἀντίκα εἰρήσεται<sup>f</sup>. The nature of this business, I consider to be explained, 532. 9—end: and if it is not related there, I know not where it is. The time of this transaction belongs to the year of Julianus; but the affair itself continued to the time of Quadratus: and this would suffice to prove that Julianus came before Quadratus, though whether directly, or with some interval greater or less between them, may still be uncertain.

Again, it has been already shewn that the allusion concerning the sophist, as mentioned a little while before, was to Δ. 520, line 21. Aristides had occasion to mention him, because he was giving an account of a dream which he had in Pergamus, and in which he appeared to him. It does not follow from this reference that the sophist had yet been ἄρχων: and, consequently, he must have been so afterwards. But the dream preceded the arrival of Quadratus; and there-

<sup>f</sup> 521. 5.

fore, as we may presume, so did that arrival the government of the sophist.

Again, this dream in Pergamus it seems was prior to one in Smyrna<sup>g</sup>; in which Aristides fancied himself saluted by the name of Theodorus, and the title of Asiarch: the meaning of which vision is explained by what happened in the year of the sophist<sup>h</sup>: viz. that on the first day of assembly in the year of Smyrna, when the sophist was ἄρχων, Aristides unexpectedly appearing in public, the people would have conferred upon him τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὴν κοινὴν τῆς Ἀσίας, that is, would have made him Asiarch. When he had excused himself from this office, they would next have made him ἱερεὺς of his tutelary genius Æsculapius; but, for reasons such as he alleges, he excuses himself, and gets the governor's consent to be excused, from that too: οὕτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς, he concludes, ἔσχεν ὁ ἡγεμών. οἶμαι δ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνος μᾶλλον τι, ἢ ὁ τῷ ὄντι καὶ καθάπαξ ἡγεμών— which means the emperor himself, whose letters of exemption were written to him in the government of the next proconsul.

But we see it was proposed to make him ἱερεὺς of Æsculapius. Now, in the first of the λόγοι<sup>i</sup>, where he is giving an account of one of his visions or dreams, he says, I thought the governor had written to me, and begun his letter, with Ἀριστείδη τῷ ἱερεῖ χαίρειν. This governor was Quadratus; and the coincidence is critical; because it illustrates what is said elsewhere<sup>k</sup> about some very complimentary letters which Quadratus wrote to Aristides both at the beginning, and more especially at the end, of his government—ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξήει. He would have it to be supposed that Quadratus gave him the title *proleptically* when he wrote to him,

<sup>g</sup> 518. 12—519. 30.

<sup>h</sup> 531. 3.

<sup>i</sup> 455. 16.

<sup>k</sup> Δ. 522. 4.

which was in reality offered him as soon as his successor came into office.

These considerations are sufficient to shew that Quadratus, the Sophist, Pollio, and Severus, were governors of Asia in succession: and the year of the last being fixed to A. D. 166–167, and the year of Pollio to A. D. 165–166, that of the Sophist was A. D. 164–165, and that of Quadratus A. D. 163–164. This conclusion is confirmed by a reference to the first occasion when any mention of Quadratus occurs in the λόγοι: viz. the relation of another of Aristides' dreams, on the twenty-fourth of the month Posideon: ταῦτα καὶ ὕστερον πρὸς Κοδρᾶτον τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐδόκουν ὡς ὅναρ διηγείσθαι καὶ τὸν εἰπεῖν, ποιήσον οὕτω<sup>1</sup>. This kind of allusion to him abundantly implies that he was governor either at the time, or shortly after; and the same conclusion follows from the passage, a few pages later, concerning the letter; the time of which was the fifteenth of the next month Lenæon.

Now this is that part of the case of Aristides, which related to the affection of the abdomen (τὸ τοῦ ἥτρου). Beginning his account with the first of Posideon, he continues it regularly down, after the manner of a diary, to what may be shewn to coincide with the twenty-fourth of the ensuing month Lenæon. It is then that the apostrophe occurs concerning the system of ἀλουσίαι—from which we concluded that six years at least had elapsed up to that time, from the beginning of the disorder. Reckon forward six years from November A. D. 157, and the sixth year would be current A. D. 163, *ineunte*—at which time, or soon after it, Quadratus, as it is implied, was in office. These calculations, then, meet in a common point, A. D. 163,

<sup>1</sup> A. 451. 14.



as the year of the beginning of his government, whether we trace them backwards or forwards.

Again, in the account of a dream on the twenty-fifth of Posideon<sup>m</sup>, an allusion occurs to the emperor, but with no specific mention of the name: there is another allusion<sup>n</sup> soon after to the same emperor, but as then in Syria, which comes in between the fifth and the seventh of Lenæon, and serves to fill up a chasm in the diary for the intermediate day, the sixth. Both these allusions refer to some *πρόσδοος* or audience of this emperor, which Aristides supposes himself to have had; and therefore to one and the same occasion. And though all this, so far as the author himself is concerned, passes in a dream or vision, yet the reference to the emperor, as then in Syria, is a reference to a matter of fact. The emperor must have been in Syria at the time.

In neither of these allusions, as thus expressed, is any thing mentioned, to imply that the emperor Marcus in particular is meant. Besides which, it would be contradictory to the faith of history to suppose this emperor in particular was ever in Syria before the rebellion and death of Cassius<sup>o</sup>; which happened U.C. 928, A.D. 175, *medio*. It would be equally so, to understand the allusion of any personal presence in Syria of Antoninus Pius, the predecessor of Marcus; concerning which history is not less silent<sup>p</sup>. It remains, then, to suppose the allusion to be to some actual presence in Syria of Lucius Verus, the colleague of Marcus, at this period of Aristides' history, the sixth of his illness at least; and either just before, or during the year of office of Quadratus, A. D. 163—164.

Now this is a remarkable coincidence: for Lucius

<sup>m</sup> A. 451. 18.      <sup>n</sup> 453. 20.      <sup>o</sup> Dio, lxxi. 28. 31, 32: Lampridius, *Commodus*, 2. 12: Capitolinus, *Antoninus Philosophus*, 25, 26, 27: Eckhel, vii. 62.  
<sup>p</sup> Capitolinus, *Antoninus Pius*, 5. 7. 9. 13: Pausanias, viii. 43. §. 3.

Verus was sent into Syria in the second of Marcus, A. D. 162, to command in the war with the Parthians: and he continued there to the end of the war, A. D. 165, and his own return, A. D. 166. On one occasion, viz. when he left Antioch to meet Lucilla, his bride, whom Marcus her father had sent to be married to him in the East, he proceeded as far as Ephesus<sup>q</sup>. But this was in the summer of A. D. 164\*: a year after this allusion to his presence in Syria, by Aristides. He might visit Smyrna on the same occasion: in which case, Aristides' admission to him, which this year took place in a dream, the next year might take place in reality. But this dream after all may refer to what took place a long time subsequently; viz. an actual audience of the emperor Marcus at Smyrna, A. D. 175.

There is a third allusion to the emperor, in the account of a dream on the twelfth of Lenæon, which is perceptibly different from the other two. Aristides fancied that Antoninus the emperor, *the elder one*, and Vologesus the king of the enemy, had made peace with each other<sup>r</sup>. His dreaming of their making peace at this time is a proof that they had not yet actually done so: and, therefore, that the time of this vision was before A. D. 165, at least. But what are we to understand by Antoninus the emperor, *the elder one*, except Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, in opposition either to Verus, which is not improbable—or to Commodus, which I should consider to be more likely?

I apprehend that the designation in question was given in reference to what was the case when Aristides was writing; not to what was so when he had the

\* If such was the case, Quadratus must have been the pro-consul of Asia, to whom Marcus is said to have written, forbidding any particular honours to be shewn to his daughter.

<sup>q</sup> Capitolinus, Marcus, 9: Verus, 7: Eckhel, vii. 50.

<sup>r</sup> A. 454. 1.

dream. If he was writing U. C. 928, A. D. 175; at that time Verus had long been dead, and Commodus himself had just been associated in the empire with his father. Not but that the opposition might be truly understood of Verus also; for Marcus was nine or ten years older than his colleague<sup>r</sup> \*. As to understanding the description of Antoninus Pius in opposition to Antoninus Philosophus, I think it would be absurd: first, because there was no war, that we know of, between Antoninus Pius and the Parthians—nor consequently could there be any peace, which Aristides might dream of as made between them. The Parthians are said to have meditated war in the reign of Antoninus Pius; but the actual commission of hostilities took place in the second of Antoninus the philosopher, when they broke into the Roman territory, and defeated and slew Severianus the legate of Syria<sup>†</sup> †. And

\* Marcus was born vi Kal. Maias, U. C. 874—Capitolinus, i: Verus, according to Eckhel, vii. 87, xviii. Kal. Jan. U. C. 883. Cf. Capitolinus, Verus, i, 2: though Spartian, Ælius Verus, 3, would imply that his birth took place somewhat later. Capitolinus makes a double mistake in the years of the reign of Marcus, and in those of his life—calling the former eighteen, instead of nineteen—and the latter sixty-one, instead of fifty-nine. It is possible he may have done the same in the case of Verus, whom he supposes to have reigned eleven years, in-

stead of nine, and to have lived forty-two, instead of forty<sup>s</sup>.

† Capitolinus calls this legate Atidius Cornelianus; (unless, indeed, Vologæus defeated or slew him too). Lucian alludes to the fact in question in his Alexander, or Pseudomantis, ii. 235, 27: ὁ γοῦν Σευηριανῶ δοθεὶς, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐς Ἀρμενίαν εἰσόδου, τῶν αὐτοφώνων καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν. προτρέπων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴν, οὕτως ἔφη—Πάρθους Ἀρμενίους τε θοῶ ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμάσσας | νοστήσεις Ῥώμην, καὶ Θύμβριδος ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ, | στέμμα φέρων κροτάφοισι μεμιγμένον ἀκτίεσσιν. εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ

<sup>r</sup> Dio, lxxi. 34: Capitolinus, Marcus, 18. i: Verus, 11: Eckhel, vii. 94. <sup>s</sup> The fact, however, mentioned supra 350, of Verus' hearing Polemo, U. C. 896, would imply that he must have been somewhat older at that time, than the date of his birth, U. C. 883, would make him. For if born U. C. 883, he would be but thirteen U. C. 896; but if born U. C. 880, as Capitolinus' statement of his age at his death, U. C. 922, would imply, he would be sixteen: and this is much the most probable supposition. <sup>t</sup> Capitolinus, Marcus, 8: Verus, 6: Dio, lxx. 2. lxxi. 1, 2.

as to the dreams or visions of Aristides; though they do not always relate to matters of fact at the time, yet they do so to what were matters of fact afterwards. He wishes it to be supposed that these visions of things were communicated by his guardian god prospectively; and were afterwards verified by the event.

Again, he tells us<sup>v</sup> that this Antoninus, whosoever he was, appeared to be ἐπικεικῶς ἐν ἀκμῇ, a little, but not much, advanced in years. Antoninus Pius died A. D. 161, at seventy: and one or two years before the end of his reign would not be described as ἐπικεικῶς ἐν ἀκμῇ. Verus, on the other hand, died A. D. 169, at thirty-nine; and A. D. 163, or 164, was in the flower and vigour of life. But Antoninus Philosophus, who died A. D. 180, at fifty-nine<sup>u</sup>, would be forty-three or forty-four, A. D. 164; at which age the description in question would be strictly appropriate to him.

Again, there is another allusion<sup>x</sup> in the account of a dream or vision on the nineteenth of Lenæon; which mentions both emperors in conjunction, the one as τὸν πρεσβύτερον, the other as τὸν νεώτερον—adding in respect of the latter<sup>y</sup>, ἐδόκει δέ μοι καὶ παιδὸς ἡλικίαν ἔχειν. I know not to whom this could apply, A. D. 163 or 164,

πεισθεὶς ὁ ἡλίθιος ἐκείνος Κελτὸς εἰσέβαλε, καὶ ἀπῆλλαξεν, αὐτῇ στρατιᾷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀθρυάδου κατακοπεῖς, κ', τ. λ. Most of the letters of Verus the emperor to Fronto, (apud Frontonis Opera inedita,) were written from Syria, during his presence there upon occasion of this war. The emperor was anxious that Fronto should write the history of the war: and for that purpose supplied him with his own *commentarii*, and those of his generals, Avidius Cassius, Martius Verus, &c. Fronto com-

plied with the emperor's wish, and wrote a *Bellum Parthicum*; of which however no more has been partially recovered than the *Principia*, or *Proœm*. As far as it goes, it confirms the previous account of things. Cf. *Operum Pars ii.* 321. *De Bello Parthico*: and more particularly, the *Principia Historiæ*, *Fragmentum iv.* 350, where Severianus is mentioned by name, as well as his being cut to pieces by the Parthians.

<sup>v</sup> A. 454. 7.

<sup>u</sup> Capitolinus, *Vita*, 12.

<sup>x</sup> A. 456. 26.

<sup>y</sup> 457. 10.



except to Commodus; who was associated in the empire A. D. 175, by the time Aristides was writing, and A. D. 163, was still in reality a child. As to understanding it of Verus, who was then thirty-three or thirty-four, in the manhood of life, it seems too absurd a supposition to be admitted.

It has thus been rendered probable that the Quadratus of Aristides was in office A. D. 163–164: the Sophist, whom we have conjectured to denote Herodes Atticus, in the next year, A. D. 164–165\*: Pollio, A. D. 165–166, and Severus, A. D. 166–167. As to any proconsuls before the first of these years, it has also been ascertained that Julianus was one of the number: and that his year of office was not later than A. D. 162–163, at least. The precise year, it is true, is of no importance to the question for the sake of which these inquiries have been instituted. I will observe, however, that as all the favours or compliments, which Aristides received from the governors of Asia, were both in reality paid to his rhetorical eminence, and are mentioned by him in order

\* We may here observe, that supposing this the year of office of the Sophist in question, and that Sophist to have been Herodes Atticus; that he should have been officiating as governor of Asia, A. D. 164–165, is not inconsistent with the fact recorded by Philostratus of Herodes Atticus, in *Vita*, (ii. 562. B–D,) and the Cynic Peregrinus, also known by the name of Proteus; who burnt himself publicly, as Jerome, in *Chronico*, if not Eusebius, attests, at the Olympic games, Olympiad 236. i. A. D. 165; and upon whom

Lucian, *De Morte Peregrini*, was written. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxix. i. 555. This transaction between Herodes and him could scarcely have happened in the very year of his death; and it appears in fact from Lucian, *De Morte Peregrini*, capp. 19 and 20, *Operum* iii. 343, 344, that it could not have occurred less than two Olympiads, or eight years before the time when Proteus burned himself: that is, before A. D. 165. Tertullian, *Ad Martyres*, cap. 4. *Operum* iv. 71, refers to this event, as not long before the time of that treatise.

† Jerome, *loco laudato*, couples it with the fact of Verus' triumph, *De Parthis*, which would be A. D. 166. But A. D. 166 would not be an Olympic year.

to be so understood; no distinctions could begin to be conferred upon him on that account, until he had made himself known in his profession. Now he tells us plainly that for the first year after his return from Italy, and the beginning of his indisposition, he laid his rhetoric aside altogether; that he was called to the chair at Pergamus in the second year current of his case; and from that time forward began to be distinguished as a professor of oratory<sup>z</sup>. It appears also that he was already at Pergamus, filling the chair there, when Julianus did him the service then recorded<sup>a\*</sup>.

\* The tenth oration of Aristides, called Ἀπέλλα Γενεθλιακός, which has been already referred to, commemorates the birthday of a favourite pupil; 114. 1—115. 5: and by a comparison of 123. 5—12: 124. 13—125. 8, with Oratio lv. 708. 16: it may be proved to have been delivered at Pergamus, not long before the ἁγών, or feast of Æsculapius; which Apellas, being appointed his ἱερεὺς, was about to celebrate there. 124. 6: 125. 12—end, only one king, as such, is mentioned in it: which is most probably Antoninus Pius; as long before the time when Marcus Aurelius became sole king by the death of Verus, Aristides was returned to, and settled in, Smyrna.

This oration, then, I should consider to be one which he delivered soon after he was called to the chair at Pergamus, between A. D. 158, and 161, *incunte*. There is a plain allusion in it, at the beginning, to Æsculapius, as τῷ σωτήρι καὶ τοῦ βίου

καθηγεμόνι; and still more, 115. 1: ἐμὲ μὲν γε σώσας θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων τῇ πόλει δέδωκε—which is not inconsistent with this supposition.

The twelfth oration, ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπιτάφιος, is one that was probably written before this. It commemorates the death of Alexander, Aristides' preceptor in rhetoric; who was alive and at Rome, when Aristides was there and sick: as he was A. D. 157. See 148. 18, &c. He speaks of him also as being then, or having been sometime, the instructor of the children of the emperor. Capitolinus informs us that Alexander was Marcus' preceptor in grammar or rhetoric: Vita, 2.: so that the king was Antoninus, and the pupils Marcus and Verus: 138. 11—139. 6: 144. 1—14. Aristides himself was unwell when he wrote this funeral oration—149. 6—end: so that it was probably written shortly after his return from Rome, A. D. 158 or 159.

This Alexander is alluded to

<sup>z</sup> B. 483. 31. Δ. 505. 17—22: 507. 12.

<sup>a</sup> Δ. 532. 22.

It follows, therefore, that he could make mention of no president for the first year of the process of his cure, A. D. 157–158. Nor yet, as we may presume, for the second, A. D. 158–159. But he might do so for any of the ensuing years from A. D. 159–A. D. 163: and in one of these years must Julianus have been in office. As, however, he was most likely a president of the emperor Marcus', we must not look for him earlier than A. D. 161–162: and this is confirmed by what has been noticed already, viz. that the business which had obliged Aristides to have recourse to this magistrate was still pending, in some manner or other, when Quadratus came into office. It is probable, therefore, that Julianus preceded Quadratus by one year only, or at the utmost by two.

If, then, Polycarp suffered under a Quadratus, and that in the spring of the year; the date of his martyrdom is the spring of A. D. 164: and it is a striking confirmation of this conclusion—which, as the reader should remember, is obtained from the λόγοι of Aristides, independent of any other authority—that the Paschal Chronicon places the martyrdom in the year of Quadratus, and Quadratus' year in the fourth of Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 164. These concurrent testimonies would seem to leave nothing to be desired for the decision of this preliminary question, which concerns the year of the martyrdom: so that, assuming this now as sufficiently well established, we might pro-

Ἱερῶν λόγων A. 451. 18. in a dream of Aristides' towards the end of the month Posideon, A. D. 163, as I suppose. But as he appears only in a dream—there is no inferring from this allusion to him, that he was

then alive<sup>z</sup>.

Marcus Aurelius, *De Rebus Suis*, i. 10, mentions Alexander the grammarian, and cap. 12, Alexander τὸν Πλατωνικόν, both, if not the same person, yet as his preceptors<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>z</sup> It recognises him, however, as the emperor's preceptor, whether Marcus or Verus.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Aristides, *loco citato*, 142. 18. et sqq.

ceed to the main object of our inquiries, which is the day of the month and of the week.

But besides the above allusions to the contemporary governors of Asia, which occur in Aristides, there are more, to the following effect: ὁ Σεβήρος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγεμὼν, ἡρξεν, οἶμαι, ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἐταίρου<sup>b</sup> — Καὶ χρόνῳ ὕστερον οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πυκνοὶ σεισμοὶ γίνονται ἐπὶ Ἀλβου ἄρχοντος τῆς Ἀσίας<sup>c</sup>. The first of these ascertains the existence of a president immediately after Severus, and, consequently, A. D. 167—168. But he is no otherwise described than as the ἐταῖρος of Aristides, and of his other friends.

According to Dio, if he is rightly represented by Xiphilinus<sup>d</sup>, when the emperor Marcus took the field against the Pannonians and Marcomanni, which was in this very year, A. D. 167, he appointed Avidius Cassius τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης ἐπιτροπεύειν. If these facts are consistent with each other, Avidius Cassius and Aristides' ἐταῖρος, being both presidents in the same year, A. D. 167, must have been the same person: unless indeed, what is not impossible, Cassius being appointed over *all* Asia, proconsular Asia in particular, like other provinces, so long as he was in possession of this extraordinary power, was not left without its ordinary governor, but had some one, though subject to him. In the course of his λόγῳι, Aristides mentions several persons by the name of his ἐταῖροι; as for instance a certain Pardalus<sup>e</sup>. But this is the only instance in which he speaks of any of them as having been governor of Asia. Now as Cassius was the son of Heliodorus, ὁ ῥήτωρ, a friend of Aristides, as we have seen, individually; it is very probable that Cassius stood in the same relation to him himself: and, if Aristides was writing A. D. 175, any time after his unsuccessful attempt on the Purple, which was made

<sup>b</sup> Δ. 523. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Γ. 497. 26.

<sup>d</sup> lxxi. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Δ. 527. 20.



about the summer of that year<sup>f</sup>, he might not care to mention him in less general terms than these, of “a certain friend of his.”

There is reason, however, to believe that Cassius was speedily removed from Asia to the command of Syria. The revolt of the Bucolici in Egypt was suppressed by him in capacity of legate of Syria—and the time of that revolt coincided with the death of Annius Verus<sup>g</sup>, U. C. 923, A. D. 170. He continued in the enjoyment of this office to the year of his rebellion and death, A. D. 175, when he was succeeded by Martius Verus<sup>\*</sup>.

As to the second passage, which concerns the year of Albus; the first allusion to any such convulsions of nature, as earthquakes, within the space of time embraced by these λόγοι, occurs, I believe, B. 466. 6: where, besides the effect of the distance of time in erasing a number of particulars from his recollection, Aristides complains also of the dispersion, or rather the destruction, of his papers and memoranda: ἐν τῇ παντοδαπῇ φθορᾷ καὶ ἀκρασίᾳ τῶν κατ’ οἶκον, περὶ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους. There is no reason to suppose this can be meant of political commotions of any kind, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, affecting Smyrna or Pergamus, where Aristides chiefly resided: and consequently it must be meant of disturbances of some other kind, such as would be the many and frequent earthquakes, recorded to have happened in the year of Albus<sup>h</sup>.

\* Verus, according to Dio, lxxi. 23. was ἀρχὼν of Cappadocia at the time of the revolt of Cassius.

<sup>f</sup> Dio, lxxi. 17. 22. 27: Capitolinus, Marcus, 16. 24, 25: Gallicanus, Cassius, 7, 8: Lampridius, Commodus, 2. 12: Eckhel, vii. 62. <sup>g</sup> Gallicanus, Cassius, 5, 6: Capitolinus, Marcus, 21: Capitolinus, Verus, 7: Dio, lxxi. 4. 23. 27.

<sup>h</sup> The only occasion, distinct from these, to which we could refer the above allusion, would be the affair with the Mysians, Δ. 532. 12. et sqq. Yet that would be manifestly inapplicable.

The most remarkable catastrophe of this kind, mentioned by history in the reign of Marcus, was the earthquake which laid Smyrna in ruins. But this catastrophe did not happen until U. C. 928, A. D. 175, in the fifteenth year of his reign<sup>h</sup>. The proof of this assertion may be made out from Aristides himself\*. The

\* Three of the extant orations of Aristides refer directly to this destruction of Smyrna—the *Μονωδία ἐπὶ Σμύρνῃ*, Oratio xx: the *Παλινωδία ἐπὶ Σμύρνῃ*, Oratio xxi: and the epistle, addressed to the Roman emperors, Oratio xli. Besides which, there are clear references to it in the *Προσφωνητικὸς Σμυρναϊκὸς*, Oratio xxii. From these documents it appears plainly, that both the emperors had visited Smyrna, before the earthquake happened; that they were still in the neighbourhood, when it happened; that Aristides himself was absent from the city also, at the time; that he wrote without a moment's delay, to the emperors, in its behalf, when he heard of the catastrophe; that the epistle, before referred to, addressed to Marcus and Commodus, is the actual epistle so written: which Philostratus also mentions in his life of Aristides.

There is another oration, addressed to Æsculapius, Oratio vi. from which it appears, 69. 13—the end, that before he wrote this address, Aristides had had a personal interview with the *Βασιλεῖς*; (meaning, as I understand it, Marcus and Commodus;) had declaimed be-

fore them, the queen, or the princesses of the royal family, *τὰς βασιλίδας*, and the whole of the imperial retinue. Cf. Philostratus, *Vitæ Sophistarum*, ii. 579 D—580. C. The same passage adds, *καὶ ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο καὶ τὸ σύνθημα παρῇν ἀνακαλοῦν*: a passage which the learned editor of Aristides, Reiske, professes not to understand, but which a reference to the above orations, more especially to xxi. 429. l. 18, 19, &c. and xli. 764. 13, &c. sufficiently explains to mean that Aristides received a warning of some kind or other, from his tutelary genius, just before the earthquake, to leave the city: in consequence of which he was not there when it happened, and so escaped the common destruction. Cf. 499. 20. Even after this, xxi. 429. 13—15: he speaks of his guardian Æsculapius as still directing him what to do or say; and in consequence of such directions, of his writing to the people of Smyrna, instead of addressing them in person. Cf. also the exordium of Oratio xxii.

The emperor Marcus, and his son Commodus, set out to Asia about the nones of July, U. C. 928; and they had returned to Rome by the tenth of the kalends

<sup>h</sup> Dio, lxxi. 32. Eusebius, *Chronicon Armeno-Latinum*, and Jerome, in *Chronico*, both date this event in the nineteenth of Marcus, instead of the fifteenth; four years too late.

earthquakes described by him here, were certainly very remarkable; but it is clear that they did not proceed to such an extent as the overthrow of Smyrna: not to

of January, Dec. 23. U. C. 929<sup>g</sup>. Faustina the queen, accompanied her husband, and died, as Capitolinus informs us, while she was still in Asia, In radicibus Montis Tauri in vico Halalæ; Antoninus, 26: Cf. Dio, lxxi. 29, 30: the time of which event was U. C. 928. It is evident, then, that she died after she had been at Smyrna, where Aristides had declaimed before her. The precise time of the earthquake, therefore, must have been the interval between the departure of the court from Smyrna, and their arrival at Halala by Mount Taurus. Nor can there be any doubt that Marcus was not far from Smyrna when the calamity happened. Cf. Aristides, xxii. 438. 13. and Philostratus, Vitæ Sophistarum, ii. 579 B—580. D.

This coincidence, however, is important in another respect. The same oratio εἰς Ἀσκληπιὸν,

64. 21. 68. 12. 14. quotes the ἱεροὶ λόγοι by name; and consequently proves that these λόγοι had been written before this address to Æsculapius. If so, the λόγοι had been written before the earthquake, and before the arrival of Marcus at Smyrna, the latter half of U. C. 928<sup>h</sup>.

The twenty-first oration, or Παλιωφδία ἐπὶ Σμύρνῃ, 433. 15—434. 1, was not written until Marcus and Commodus had returned to Rome; and had there interceded in person with the Roman senate, for such and such privileges to be granted to Smyrna: see Dio, lxxi. 32. Compare also 435. 3—436. 13. Nor was the twenty-second oration, or Προσφωνητικὸς Σμυρναϊκός, written until the city had in some measure risen from its ruins. See 440. 2—441. 19. 442. 14—443. 20.

<sup>g</sup> A coin of Rabathmoma, in Arabia, indeed, described by Eckhel, would imply that M. Aurelius was in Arabia or near it, U. C. 930. See Eckhel, iii. 505. But the Arabian year bears date from the vernal equinox, Cf. Ibid. 503. and this coin may belong to a year between the vernal equinox, U. C. 929, and the vernal equinox, U. C. 930.

<sup>h</sup> Upon this subject of the probable date of the Λόγοι, I will here observe that Artemidorus, the author of the Oneirocritica, a native of Daldis in Lydia, but a citizen of Ephesus, was a contemporary of Aristides, and could scarcely fail to have been acquainted with him. Lib. iv. 24, of the Oneirocritica, we meet with an allusion to some contemporary of the writer's, which may possibly bear to be understood of Aristides, and of the account which he has given in these extant λόγοι, of the nature and treatment of his case, under the supposed directions of Æsculapius: καὶ τις καὶ νῦν συνταγὰς καὶ θεραπείας ἀναπλάσσει, ὅς μάλιστα κατακόρως ἐν τρίτῳ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ συντάξεως κέχρηται οὕτως. οὐδ' ἐγὼ καίπερ εὖ εἰδὼς τὸ ὄνομα, οὐκ ἀναμνήσομαι. Artemidorus' reserve about the name of this individual is a strong presumptive argument that it was his contemporary Aristides. From all that I have observed of the probable date of the Oneirocritica, I should be induced to conclude that the author was writing that work about the same time that Aristides was composing his ἱεροὶ λόγοι. In this same chapter, too, mention occurs of Φρόντων δ' ἀρθριτικός: most probably the same whose fragments have been recovered by Angelo Maio: especially as he is known to have been a gouty subject. Fronton also was a contemporary of Aristides and of Artemidorus.

mention that no part of these present λόγοι comes down to so late a period in the reign of Marcus, as A. D. 175, *exeunte*. Their true time, as here intended, and consequently the year of Albus, may perhaps be determined as follows :

The object of the writer in alluding to these earthquakes is to tell, how, by the sacrifice of a bull, he himself was made the instrument, in the hands of Æsculapius, for putting a stop to them. But his reason for bringing in the story of the bull is its connection with the death of his favourite servant Zosimus. This Zosimus was alive during the continuance of the cure of the abscess<sup>i</sup>—and many years afterwards, during the affection of the ἡτρων<sup>k</sup>—which proves him to have survived during the first six or seven years of the disorder at least. Nor is it any objection that his death is alluded to<sup>l</sup> after an event which is said to have occurred κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔτι τῆς ἀσθενείας : for this is merely one of the many instances in which Aristides suddenly passes from one topic, and one point of time, to another. It is observable, however, that he supposes Sarapis, his other tutelary genius, to interfere in an extraordinary manner to comfort him under his loss : which I consider a tacit intimation that ten years of the process at least were now elapsed. He was to have ten years from Æsculapius, and three from Sarapis.

The account of the death itself is given at the end of λόγος A<sup>m</sup>. It happened four months after a certain deliverance, which Æsculapius had accorded to him at the instance of his master : and it happened in the winter season—therefore that deliverance had occurred in the summer or the autumnal quarter.

i A. 460—462. k 452. 21. 455. 12. l Γ. 500. 5. 19. m 462. 23—end.



Now, if the circumstances of this account in λόγος A. be carefully compared with λόγος E.<sup>n</sup> the reader will see the necessity of coming to the conclusion that the occasion upon which Aristides was returning διὰ Μυσίας εἰς Πέργαμον—when Zosimus fell sick, and was saved for that time by Æsculapius—was the occasion of his *first* visit to Cyzicus\*. He speaks only of *two*

\* The speech which Aristides delivered, upon occasion of this first visit to Cyzicus, is extant, Oratio xvi. Πανηγυρικός ἐν Κυζίκῳ περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ. Its title shews that it was then pronounced; and at the very beginning of it, an allusion occurs to the *ἱερομηνία* in question; and to Aristides' being commanded by Æsculapius to speak in public.

391. 7: we meet with the words, ἐπεγράψασθε μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἄριστον τῶν εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον βασιλέων, κ', τ. λ.: but the rest of the account implies that the work was finished under some other reign, which from the description must be that of Marcus and Verus. See l. 17. seqq. and especially 392. 17—398. 8, where the reigning kings are both recognised as *brothers*, and both as still living. I have supposed the delivery of this oration at midsummer, A. D. 169, in Marcus' ninth; at which time, notwithstanding the opinion of Eckhel to the contrary, Verus, as I shall shew hereafter, was actually yet alive.

The meaning of ἐπεγράψασθε in the preceding passage, is con-

sequently that the work of the restitution of the temple was begun under some former reign; but completed in this<sup>o</sup>. The king referred to, then, in this last instance, is probably neither Trajan, nor Hadrian, but Antoninus Pius; in whose reign the earthquake happened which injured the temple; and whose munificence doubtless contributed to its restoration. The precise date of this earthquake is uncertain; but it was probably in the latter part of his reign. Cf. Dio, lxx. 4. Capitolinus, Antoninus Pius, 9. Zonaras, xii. 1. 593, C. D.

It would not, indeed, follow from this fact, that the temple in question might not be more immediately connected with Hadrian, either as his work, originally, or as dedicated to him. The Chronicon Paschale, i. 475. 9, 10. ad annum Hadriani vii. mentions that he built a temple at Cyzicus; and Socrates, E. H. iii. 23. 202. A. tells us, incidentally, that he was received and numbered by the Cyzicenes, as the thirteenth god; that is, evidently, as one of the *dii majores*, and as the thirteenth in addition

<sup>n</sup> 534. 1—544. 14.

<sup>o</sup> The word itself indeed, ἐπεγράψασθε, is literally to be understood; for it was usual to inscribe on buildings the names of those at whose expense they were erected, rebuilt, repaired, or the like. Thus, Philostratus, Vitæ Sophistarum, ii. 601. D. of a certain work of Damianus of Ephesus: τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῦργον ἀπὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποτελεσθὲν ἐπέγραφεν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικός.

visits to Cyzicus; one of which was exactly *four* years

to the twelve preexisting. It seems a fair inference from this fact, that the temple in question was dedicated either to all these gods in conjunction, including Hadrian, or to Hadrian, as the thirteenth of the number in particular. There is nothing in Aristides' allusions to it, to imply that it was dedicated to some one divinity exclusively. He seems rather to describe it as a kind of Pantheon, or Temple of the gods in common.

Eusebius and Jerome, in Chronico, Ad annum Abrahami 2136 respectively, in the fourth or fifth of Hadrian, mention the fact of an earthquake, which affected Nicomedia and Nicæa in Bithynia, and which might affect the parts about Cyzicus also. This earthquake is mentioned in the Chronicon of Cassiodorus likewise; but it is dated Coss. Glabrone et Torquato—which answer to A. D. 124, the seventh or eighth of Hadrian—the year in which the Chronicon Paschale placed the foundation of the temple at Cyzicus. Earthquakes, in the reign of Hadrian, are asserted generally by Spartian, Hadrianus, 21; and are implied by Aurelius Victor also, Epitome, De Hadriano. And as to the question of any earthquake in his reign, affecting Cyzicus especially, Malala, lib. xi. 279, 2—11, asserts distinctly not only that fact, but the restoration of the city by him, and the construction of the magnificent temple within it; which same temple, or part of it, was still in being in his own time. That this temple, so ex-

tant down to a late period, was familiarly known as Hadrian's, (either as his work, or as dedicated to him,) may be inferred from the following allusion to it, in the fifteenth of the inscriptions *εἰς Βυζαντιακὰ ἀναθήματα*, in the Anthology, iv. 103. l. 15 and 16: most of which are contemporary with the reign of Justinian, or preceding emperors: *μηδὲ τανυπλεύροισιν ἀρηρότα, Κύζικε, πέτροις | Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλῆος ἀμεμφέα νηὸν αἰείσης.*

That Hadrian, then, did build a temple at Cyzicus, which was the wonder of that part of Asia, if not of the world, and that it was dedicated to him either exclusively, or in common with the *dii majores*, seems a well attested fact. It appears, however, from Xiphilinus, the abreviator of Dio, and by implication from Capitolinus, that this temple sustained considerable injury, after his time, in the reign of Antoninus Pius: which that emperor assisted in repairing. Hence, if the word *ἐπεγράψασθε* be understood, as it well may, of the restitution in question, it will be implied hereby that this was begun, whether completed or not, in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Nor is it probable that *ἐπεγράψασθε*, in the present instance, means any thing more than this; for the context proceeds to shew, that though begun under *one* reign it was finished (*εἰς τέλος ᾗλθεν*) under another; which might be true of the restoration of the temple, if begun towards the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius, and not completed (as a work of

later than the other, and at the time when he was writing, had but recently taken place °.

On each of these visits he set out from Smyrna, and after each he returned to Smyrna: and it is needless to observe that a person travelling from Smyrna to Cyzicus, or from Cyzicus to Smyrna, must pass through or by Pergamus, into Mysia, and through Mysia to Pergamus, or by it. In short, this single circumstance is enough to fix the identity of the two occasions: for as Aristides was coming back through Mysia to Pergamus, it is morally certain that he was returning from Cyzicus: and therefore from his first visit, or from his second. But it could not be, as we

such magnitude very probably would not be) until the ninth of Marcus: but could scarcely be so of its original construction; which there can be little doubt was both begun and finished in the reign of Hadrian, and by his undivided munificence also. Aurelius Victor, *De M. Aurelio*, among other particulars of his reign, observes, *Multæ urbes conditæ, deductæ, repositæ, ornataque: atque in primis Pænorum Carthago, quam ignis fæde consumpserat: Asiæque Ephesus, ac Bithyniæ Nicomedia, constratæ terræ motu, æque ac nostra ætate Nicomedia, Cereali Consule: in which last words there is an allusion to the earthquake, A. D. 358, in the reign of Constantius, affecting Nicomedia more particularly; of which we have an account in Ammianus Marcellinus, xvii. 7, and the Ecclesiastical Historians, Socrates, Sozomen, Philostorgius.*

I shall observe, here, that the twenty-eighth oration of Aristi-

des, the sixth of the *ἱεροὶ λόγοι*, though only a fragment in itself, contains distinct intimations that the time when he was first urged by his tutelary genius to begin to shew himself in public, and to travel abroad in quest of rhetorical distinction, was the twelfth of his sickness, either *incunte* or *exeunte*—A. D. 169. The fragment is too short to tell us in what manner he set about to obey these intimations. But he might begin with this visit to Cyzicus, (see 382. 7.) and afterwards go to other places. There is reason to believe the four years' interval between the first visit and the second, was so spent. A visit to Ephesus is certainly mentioned B. 486. 17. as a recent event, which E. 543. 2. shews to have been probably made in this interval, and soon after the first visit to Cyzicus. The thirteenth oration, or Panathenaicus, was probably delivered at Athens, during the same period also.

shall see, from his second : therefore, it must have been from his first.

Besides which, there are many other circumstances common to the two accounts, which would strengthen the proof of the coincidence between them, if produced. But it would be tedious to produce them : the attentive reader, if he thinks it worth his while, may easily observe them for himself. I will add merely, that the comparison should properly begin at E. 538. 14. and A. 462, 25 ; in both of which Aristides has just set out on his first return from Cyzicus.

The account shews that, at the time when Zosimus was thus taken ill, and saved, Aristides lost one of the children of Callityche his foster-sister, called after Philumene his nurse—and the sister of Hermeas, whose death, at the juncture when Aristides recovered from the fever, after the plague, has been already mentioned, and is again alluded to here. And as Hermeas was said to have died in his stead *then*, so is Philumene said to have done so *now*. This is enough to prove that the first visit to Cyzicus was not before the *tenth* year of his indisposition, or when Severus was governor of Asia, A. D. 167.

Besides which, as this visit was made exactly *four* years before the second, and both, at the time of an *ἑορμηνία* or olympic festival<sup>p</sup>—the last in particular six months before the middle of winter<sup>q</sup>—it is clear that the visit in each case was made at midsummer. Now, at the midsummer of his tenth year if Aristides was not ill of the plague, he was so, or soon after, of a fever, which lasted forty days. He paid no visit, then, to Cyzicus at the midsummer of the tenth year, A. D. 167. Nor did he make it at the midsummer of the eleventh, A. D. 168 ; because he made it<sup>r</sup>, περιιόντι

p E. 537. 6. 544. 15—18.

q 545. *ad calcem*, 546. 7. 548. 4.

r E. 537. 6.



τῷ ἔτει, καὶ μηνὶ μάλιστα, one year and one month, after he set out, as he states at the beginning of the discourse, from Smyrna to Pergamus, θέρους ὥρα, to offer sacrifice in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, near his native place, Hadriani, or Hadriano-Theræ. A year and a month from that time in one year would just bring us to the usual olympic period, which was midsummer, in the next. The first journey to Cyzicus, then, was not made before the midsummer of the twelfth year at the soonest, A. D. 169; nor, consequently, the second before the midsummer of the sixteenth, A. D. 173, as we elsewhere observed was the case \*<sup>s</sup>.

\* It is after his return from Cyzicus, on the second occasion, that Aristides in the only passage which the λόγοι supply (E. 548. 7.) alludes to his own age at the time: καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἡλικίας ἤδη μέσως ἔχοιμι. Philostratus, his biographer, though he had his accounts of him from Damianus of Ephesus, his pupil, (see Vitæ Sophistarum, ii. 602. A. B.) did not know whether he lived to be sixty, or to be seventy. Ibid. ii. 582. A. B. Suidas is still less explicit, describing him as γεγονὼς ἐπὶ τε Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ διατείνας μέχρι Κομόδου: which cannot be true, unless by γεγονὼς we understand him to mean ἀκμάσας.

There is an abundance of proofs, indeed, in the extant orations of Aristides, that he flourished in the reign of Anto-

ninus Pius, as well as of Marcus Aurelius. For instance, Oratio xiv. Πρώτης ἐγκώμιον, besides other passages which might be cited, the following is applicable to none but Antoninus Pius, and his two sons, Marcus and Verus: 369. 8—end: ὁ γε μὴν νῦν ἄρχων μέγας, . . . τοσοῦτον ὑπεραίρει . . . τὸν πατέρα (Hadrian) ὅσον . . . ἐτέρους αὐτὸς ὑπεραίρει . . . τί δ', οὐ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἶη σαφὲς, ὅτι τοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς κοινωνοὺς ὡς οἰκέλους ἔχει παῖδας (they were in reality only his adopted sons) ὁμοίους ἑαυτῷ πλείους ἢ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τις; . . . ἄρχοντά τε τὸν μέγαν, καὶ παῖδας τούτου, σὼς τε εἶναι, καὶ πρυτανεῦν πᾶσι τὰγαθά.

This oration was written, as it appears from the exordium, at Rome, in consequence of a vow made by Aristides on the way: but whether at the time

<sup>s</sup> Eckhel, Doctrina Numorum Veterum, iv. 448, quotes a marble (Caylus, Ant. tom. ii. tab. 64.) which commemorates a victory at the Hadriani Olympia of Cyzicus: τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι. This might be the Olympiad which coincided with Aristides' first visit, A. D. 169: in which case the games being instituted forty years before, would bear date A. D. 129, in the twelfth or thirteenth of Hadrian. Games being commonly denominated Olympia, which were merely quinquennial; they might not always be celebrated in the summer. Yet those of Cyzicus clearly were so. That Hadrian instituted quinquennial games at Cyzicus, see Eckhel, ii. 454. vi. 492.

This first visit was made, then, A. D. 169. Towards the end of the autumnal quarter, Aristides returned to his usual residence at Danium<sup>s</sup>, and, when winter

of the visit just before he fell sick, is uncertain.

There are allusions, I think, to Antoninus Pius, ix. 105. l. 5. et sqq. Oratio iii. which was delivered at Corinth, just after an olympiad, and when the Isthmia were going on, 29. i. 37. 10. 41. 17, 18, concludes with the following wish, 46. 18: ἀσφάλειάν τε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἔν τε γῇ καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ διδόναι βασιλεῖ τε τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ γένει ξύμπαντι τούτου, καὶ τῷ γένει τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. As the same oration speaks of Aristides' recovery from some sickness, which he attributes not to Æsculapius, but to Jupiter and Neptune—the king here meant must be Antoninus Pius. Every sentence, however, of Oratio ix. εἰς βασιλέα, furnishes internal evidence that it was addressed to Antoninus Pius. Nor is there an allusion to any as reigning with him, nor even to his family, except in the concluding sentence; σὲ δὲ, ὃ παῖ γενναῖε γενναίων, κατ' ἔχρος εἶη βαίνειν τοῦ πατρός—which may be understood of Marcus Aurelius, exclusively, before his association in the Tribunicia Potestas, U. C. 900; though Verus was certainly adopted by Antoninus as well as he.

The time of the second visit to Cyzicus was A. D. 173, U. C. 926; from which to the death of Commodus, U. C. 945, are nineteen years. If we take the mean between sixty and seventy, and

suppose Aristides to have died in the *last* year of Commodus, he was born U. C. 880. From a passage in λόγος Δ. 519. 30—520. 5, which specifies the position of the stars at his birth, the learned author of the Collectanea Historica ad Vitam Aristidis fixes his nativity to U. C. 882. On this principle he would be forty-four U. C. 926; at which time he might properly enough say he was μέσως ἔχων τῆς ἡλικίας. Cf. li. 577. 3—12, an oration later than both the plague and the earthquakes; which yet refers to his education as a young man.

The question of the time of the birth of Aristides is connected with that of the time when Hadriani, or Hadriano-Theræ, his birth-place, was founded. Dio, lxix. 10, and Spartian, Hadrianus, 20, both testify to the fact of Hadrian's founding this last city in Mysia, and as the name implies, to commemorate his success in the chase. Cf. Eckhel, ii. 415. There is no doubt, however, that Hadrian must have visited Mysia before U. C. 880.

Philostratus, ii. 578. D. and Suidas in Vita, call the name of Aristides' birth-place, Ἀδριανοί—which he also mentions, Ἱερῶν λόγων iii. 488, 489. This was a different city from Hadriano-Theræ, though both were contiguous, if not situated alike in Mysia. The former too was a foundation of Hadrian's. Cf. Eckhel, ii. 413 t.

<sup>s</sup> E. 538. 14—22.

<sup>t</sup> And this too is more than once mentioned by Aristides: for instance, Δ. 458. 16, 17. 21. He calls it both Hadriani-Theræ and Hadriani-Thera.

was set in, ἐπελθόντος τοῦ χειμῶνος<sup>t</sup>, to Smyrna\*. In

\* In the course of the account, E. 540. 31, the following words occur: καὶ ἦσαν μὲν ἐπίβδαι, ἦν Ῥωμαῖοι πρῶτην ἄγουσι τοῦ ἔτους; and it was at this time that Zosimus fell sick and recovered. The ἐπίβδα properly denoted the day after the last day of the festival called Apaturia—vide Hesychius, in Ἀπατούρια, and cf. Harpocration: which was celebrated for four days, inclusive of the ἐπίβδα, in the month Pyanepsion. Cf. Scholia ad Aristophanis Pacem, 890: Acharnenses, 146: Suidas, Ἀνάρρυνσις, Ἀπατούρια, Δόρπεια, Κουρεῶτις. Theophrastus, περὶ ἀδολεσχίας: καὶ ὡς Βοηδρομιῶνος μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ μυστήρια, Πυανεψιώνος δὲ Ἀπατούρια, Ποσειδεῶνος δὲ τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς Διονύσια. Pindar applies the term metaphorically, Pythia, iv. 247: ἐντὶ μὲν θνατῶν φρένες ὠκύτεραι | κέρδος αἰνῆσαι πρὸ δίκας δόλιον, | τραχείαν ἐρπόντων πρὸς ἐπίβδαν ὅμως. Where the Scholiast explains it to mean, ἡ μεθέορτος ἡμέρα. To the same effect Hesychius, and others: and this is, in fact, the proper sense of the word, to denote the day or days after any festival, which though not strictly a part of it, were still kept as holidays.

The Kalends of January, or the first day of the new year, was certainly observed by the Romans with peculiar solemnities: see in particular, Herodian, i. 49. Nor does it make any difference as to the time of the year, if we suppose the first of January to be here meant. But this was only *one* day; whereas the denomination of αἱ ἐπίβδαι would seem to denote more than one. Aristides, as I understand

him, uses the word to describe the Sigillaria; the last four days of the Saturnalia, December 20—23, to which it is exceedingly appropriate. A festival, it is true, was celebrated at Rome, called Ἡλία—which we may collect from Julian's oration In regem Solem, Operum 130. Oratio iv: lasted for three days also, and came between the Sigillaria and the first of January: cf. 156. B—D. 157. B—C. But the name ἐπίβδαι can apply to nothing so properly as to the Saturnalia; which without them would last only three days, but with them would last for seven. And let the reader observe here the use of πρῶτην, which, upon this construction, clearly stands for πρότερον.

The four months, then, for which Zosimus survived his sickness, will bear date from December or January, and expire in March or April. Such likewise will be the date of the earthquakes. Aristides tells us also, A. 463. 18, ὥστε ἐνετύχονεν τε ἀλλήλοις, καὶ συνεωρτάσαμεν: in which allusion, I should suppose more to be meant than the celebration of a single holiday, like that of Neptune on the fourteenth, or that of Æsculapius on the fifteenth, of Posideon, or the ποιητῶν ἀγῶν, on the eighteenth of Lenæon; and rather some such festivity as the Acts of Polycarp prove to have been going on in Smyrna, at the time of his death, when the proconsul, the Asiarch, and the other magistrates, were all on the spot, and the whole city was keeping holiday.

<sup>t</sup> E. 528. 24, 25.



the course of the ensuing quarter Zosimus died: at which time, as appears from the account, Aristides was at Smyrna, though he was not. The earthquakes, which coincided with the time of the death of Zosimus, must have happened about the same season of

The fortieth oration of Aristides, *περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν κωμῶδεῖν*, delivered at Smyrna, recognises two or three such periods in their year, 756. 16: *καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ καιρὸς παιδενόντων, ἀλλὰ παιζόντων, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, ὁ τῶν Διονυσίων, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, ὁ τῶν σάμων τῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ τῶν παννυχίδων*. The Dionysia in particular are alluded to in the fifteenth oration, *Σμυρναϊκὸς πολιτικὸς*, 373. 5: *καλοῦσι γάρ σε ἦρος ὥρα πρώτη Διονυσίοις, τριήρης ἱερὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ φέρεται κύκλῳ δι' ἀγορὰς*. Philostratus illustrates this passage in his Life of Polemo, 530. C. D: (Cf. 542. D.) *προκαθῆσθαι γὰρ τῶν Ἀδριανοῦ Ὀλυμπίων ἔδοσαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ (sc. the Smyrnæans) καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τριήρους ἐπιβατεύειν. πέμπεται γάρ τις μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι μεταρσία τριήρης ἐς ἀγοράν· ἣν ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερεὺς οἶον κυβερνήτης εὐθύνει, πείσματα ἐκ θαλάττης λύνουσιν*. The Olympia κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν are mentioned again by Philostratus, 533. D. and 541. A<sup>u</sup>. But Aristides most probably meant the preceding ceremony: the institution of which at Smyrna was perhaps in imitation of a similar one at Athens, at the Dionysia, to which Philostratus has an allusion, Vitæ Sophistarum, ii. 547. D. 548. A. Herodes Atticus. Not but that there was a similar ceremony at Athens,

in the procession of a ship by land, at the Panathenæa, likewise; which Philostratus also describes, Vitæ, ii. 549. A—C. Herodes Atticus: and a description of which, as still observed in his time, occurs in the Orations of Himerius, iii. §. 12. p. 444: *ὅταν ἐν τῇδε τῇ πανηγύρει τὴν ἱερὰν Ἀθηναῖοι τριήρη τῷ θεῷ πέμπωσιν*: its course being, from the gates of the city, through what was called the Δρόμος, as far as the Acropolis.

There is another allusion, xxi. 437. 8, which refers apparently to the same ceremony: *ἦρος δὲ πύλαι καὶ θέρους ὑπὸ στεφάνων ἀνοίγνυνται*. The vernal equinox is again mentioned, B. 484. 27; and a ceremony then usual is noticed; viz. that of the votaries of Æsculapius washing themselves in πηλὸς, clay or mud. A festival, called the Theoxenia, is also mentioned, xli. 763, l. 3. the time of which, if literally to be understood, it appears from the context, was the autumnal quarter. The same festival seems to be meant xlii. 772; and, it may be inferred, was instituted to commemorate the arrival of Æsculapius, or the introduction of his worship, at Smyrna. Pausanias, vii. 27, §. 1. mentions a festival of the same name, celebrated in honour of Apollo, at Pellene in Achaia.

<sup>u</sup> These games of Hadrian's, at Smyrna, are alluded to by Artemidorus also, Oneirocritica, i. 66: *οἶδα δὲ τίνα κιθαριφδὸν ἐν Σμύρνῃ μέλλοντα ἀγῶνα τὸν Ἀδριανοῦ ἀγωνίεσθαι, κ', τ. λ.*



the year also. And then, by a critical coincidence, Aristides describes himself as residing in Smyrna, or rather ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως χωρίῳ <sup>u</sup>. The exact time was in reality the close of the winter quarter, as will appear hereafter: and the occurrence of earthquakes, more especially at these two points of the year, the close of the autumnal, or the beginning of the vernal quarter, might be shewn in a variety of instances.

The time of the earthquakes in question, then, being ἐπὶ Ἀλβου, and in the spring of the year A. D. 170, this was the last half year of his term of office. He was governor, therefore, A. D. 169—170: and we have already seen that either Cassius, or some ἐταῖρος of Aristides, was in office A. D. 167—168; so that, in order to exhibit the series of the governors of Asia unbroken, from A. D. 161 or 162, to A. D. 170, through the first ten years of Marcus, there is but one link wanting, viz. A. D. 168—169: and even that desideratum, I think, may be very probably supplied.

Both Eusebius and the Paschal Chronicon <sup>x</sup> have preserved a rescript of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, in favour of Christianity; bearing date Tribuniciaë Potestatis xv. and Cos. iii. Marcus was associated in the Potestas Tribunicia with Antoninus Pius, upon the birth of his first child by Faustina <sup>y</sup>; and he was married to Faustina, U. C. 898, A. D. 145, or U. C. 899, A. D. 146. Hence we might conclude that the years of his Tribunicia Potestas could not bear date from an earlier period than U. C. 900, A. D. 147: and this conclusion is confirmed by his coins. Moreover the years in question bear date from January 1: so that, though he died March 17 <sup>z</sup>, U. C. 933, A. D. 180,

<sup>u</sup> Γ. 498. 5.      <sup>x</sup> E. H. iv. 13. Chronicon Paschale, i. 484. 13-485. 18. Part of the terms in which the Paschal Chronicon speaks of this edict are taken from Eusebius; but not the whole: so that it is still to be regarded as an independent authority, as well as Eusebius, with respect to the fact in question. <sup>y</sup> Capitolinus, Antoninus Philosophus, 6: Eckhel, vii. 47.      <sup>z</sup> Tertullian, v. 72: Apologeticus, 25: Dio, lxxi. 33.

the date Trib. Pot. xxxiv. is still found upon his coins<sup>a</sup>. On this principle, his Trib. Pot. xv. would bear date from January, U. C. 914, A. D. 161; at which time also he was consul iii. This coincidence would seem to imply that the rescript in question must have been issued A. D. 161. But there are many difficulties in the way of this conclusion, sufficient to convince us that it ought not to be lightly admitted.

First, the note of time consul iii proves nothing: for Marcus was never consul iv: and the same denomination appears on many of his coins, issued long after A. D. 161<sup>b</sup>. Secondly, the epistle of the church of Smyrna declares at the outset, that the martyrdom of the blessed Polycarp sealed or consummated the persecution which had been previously going on; so that after this event it ceased, at least for a time. Now had a rescript been issued to the Commune Asiae, and recorded publicly at Ephesus, as this was, and consequently addressed to the neighbourhood of Smyrna in particular, so early in the reign of Marcus as A. D. 161; it is not to be supposed that the proconsuls would have continued an existing persecution, or begun one afresh, so as to make Polycarp suffer A. D. 164, and the persecution to end only by his death.

Thirdly, if this rescript was issued A. D. 161, before the seventh of March\*, it was issued in the lifetime and the reign of Antoninus Pius: if, after March the seventh, it was issued in the conjoint reign of Marcus and Verus, whom Marcus, from the very first

\* As (Dio, lxxi. 33, 34.) Antoninus Pius died eleven days before the date of Marcus Aurelius' death, March 17, he died on this day. The marbles cited

by Eckhel, iv. 72, 73, prove very clearly that though alive January 1, U. C. 914, he was dead before March 24 the same year.

<sup>a</sup> Eckhel, vii. 65.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. 48—65.

day of his accession, associated with himself in the full rank and privileges of the empire<sup>c</sup>. Yet it runs in the name of Marcus Aurelius only: which, I think, is an objection not easily to be surmounted. Fourthly, in Eusebius' edition of it, though not in that of the Paschal Chronicon, it exhibits among the other styles and titles of the emperor the name of Ἀρμένιος or Armeniacus\*: a denomination first earned by the successes of Avidius Cassius, and the other Roman generals, Statius Priscus and Martius Verus, who acted

\* There is a passage in Photius, Codex 74. p. 75, where he is giving an account of the Dramaticum Iamblichii, a Greek romance, which illustrates this denomination: line 27, *ad dextram*, et sqq.

Λέγει δὲ καὶ ἑαυτὸν Βαβυλώνιον εἶναι ὁ συγγραφεὺς . . . . καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἐπὶ Σοαίμου τοῦ Ἀχαιμενίδου, τοῦ Ἀρσακίδου, ὃς βασιλεὺς ἦν, ἐκ πατέρων βασιλέων, γέγονε δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ὑπατος δὲ, εἴτα καὶ βασιλεὺς πάλιν τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας. ἐπὶ τούτου γοῦν ἀκμάσαι φησὶν ἑαυτόν. Ῥωμαίων δὲ διαλαμβάνει βασιλεύειν Ἀντωνίνον. καὶ ὅτε Ἀντωνῖνος, φησὶν, Οὐῆρον τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀδελφὸν καὶ κηδεστὴν ἔπεμψε Βολογαῖσῳ τῷ Παρθναίῳ πολέμησοντα, ὡς αὐτὸς τε προεῖποι καὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ὅτι γενήσεται, καὶ ὅποι τελευτήσοι. καὶ ὅτι Βολογαῖσος μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ Τίγρην ἔφυγεν, ἡ δὲ Παρθναίων γῆ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοος κατέστη. Cf. the Fragmenta Dionis, ex Suida, lib. lxxi. *ad fin.*

Jerome, in Chronico, Ad annum Marci iv, mentions the capture of Seleucia, with a population of 300,000 inhabitants, or ac-

cording to Orosius, vii. 15, of 400,000: which was one of the successes of this war; as the taking of Ctesiphon, and of Artaxata was another. Cf. Capitolinus, Antoninus, 9: Verus, 8: Dio, lxxi. 2. Seleucia thus taken and laid waste, at this time, seems to have continued in a desolate state ever after. Cf. Orosius, vii. 2: Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 6. 371. xxiv. 5. 404, 405. in the account of Julian's expedition, A. D. 363: Zosimus, lib. iii. p. 180: Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Invectiva in Julianum* ii<sup>a</sup>: Evagrius, E. H. iii. 41. 373. B. C.

That Soæmus or Sohæmus was made king of Armenia by Verus, may also be collected from Frontonis Opera Inedita, pars ii. 310. Supplementum Ep. iv. lib. ii. ad Verum. The same fact may be inferred from the extract in Suidas, voce Μάρτιος, probably taken from Dio's account of the war; in which Martius Verus was one of the Roman commanders. This passage both mentions Soæmus, and gives the character of Martius.

<sup>c</sup> Dio, lxxi. 1: Capitolinus, Marcus, 7: Verus, 3.

under the emperor Verus in the Parthian war<sup>d</sup>; but which the coins of Marcus prove that he did not begin to assume before U. C. 917, A. D. 164: nor continue to use, after the death of Verus<sup>e</sup>, U. C. 922, A. D. 169.

Fifthly, it would be an easy thing for such a date as Δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας κέ' to be corrupted into Δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ιε', or vice versa: the former of which however would imply U. C. 924, A. D. 171, as the latter implies U. C. 914, A. D. 161.\* Sixthly, the Paschal Chronicon actually places the rescript in question, under the tenth of Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 170, immediately after the consulate of Priscus and Apollinaris, which answers to A. D. 169: and so far favours the supposition that its true date is about this time.

Seventhly, we have seen from the λόγοι of Aristides that earthquakes began to be felt at Smyrna, Ephesus, and the neighbouring parts of Asia, in the last half year of Albus, A. D. 170. And we may judge of their extent and magnitude from the description which he gives of them. Mytilene, says he, was almost entirely overthrown: in several other cities many (buildings) were disturbed: villages were utterly destroyed: the people of Smyrna, alarmed for their safety, took refuge at Ephesus—the people of Ephesus, for the same reason, ran to Smyrna: ἡ δὲ συνέχεια θαυμαστή καὶ τῶν σεισμῶν καὶ τῶν φόβων. The physical convulsions, which thus began A. D. 170, must have continued, more or

\* The rescript in question (though with many verbal differences) is usually annexed to the first Apology of Justin Martyr. The exordium of it, in Thirlby's edition, p. 101, is, Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Εὐσεβῆς,

ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὑπατος πδ'. πατὴρ πατρίδος τὸ κα'. τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας χαίρειν: in which, though strangely corrupted, yet πδ' is manifestly for κδ', and to be referred to δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, and κα' may be for δ', to be referred to ὑπατος.

<sup>d</sup> Dio, lxxi. 2. 25: Capitolinus, Marcus, 9: Verus, 7. <sup>e</sup> Eckhel, vii. 50. 57.



less, for many years afterwards, until they produced their last and greatest effect in the overthrow of Smyrna itself—a catastrophe which happened U. C. 928, A. D. 175.

There were unquestionably earthquakes in the reign of Antoninus Pius<sup>f</sup>: but it does not appear that these affected the vicinity of Smyrna or Ephesus in particular. Rhodes and Cos, Lycia and Caria suffered by them; and the city of Cyzicus, on the Hellespont, as we have seen, was some time or other, from the same cause, in danger of losing its magnificent temple, its chief pride and ornament; the restoration of which was most probably the occasion of that premature celebration of the Olympic, or other, *ιερομηνία*, when Aristides paid it his first visit\*.

\* The subject of the xliii oration of Aristides, intitled *Ῥοδιακός*, is some great earthquake, which had laid Rhodes in ruins. This visitation, it appears, came on suddenly in the summer season, after a certain *ιερομηνία*, most probably the festival called *Ἄλεια*, in honour of the sun, at the noon of some day, and the usual time of the *ἄριστον*, 800. 1. seqq. 803. 25. seqq. 805. 9. 806. 20, 21. 808. 8, 9.

A note of time occurs, 810. 8. *μόνοις δὲ οἷς ἡμεῖς πεπόνθατε νῦν καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἐξακοσίων ἐτῶν ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι συνηδίκηνται*: which 816. 24. shews to be referred to the *συνοικισμός* or foundation of the

city of Rhodes in the time of Lysander; and therefore not earlier than B. C. 404, the close of the Peloponnesian war. Cf. Strabo, xiv. 2. §. 9. 603. The *διηγήσεις* of Canon (Photius, Codex 186. p. 141.) inform us, that this *συνοικισμός* consisted of the three cities, Lindus, Ialysus, Camirus, formed into one; and called by the name of the island, Rhodus. So likewise, Aristides, *loco citato*. But this number is evidently only a round number, and too indefinite to determine the time of the earthquake. Dio Chrysostom, Oratio xxxi. 647. §. 45. in a similar instance, has *πρὸ πεντακοσίων* 5.

<sup>f</sup> Dio, apud Xiphilinum, lxx. 4: Capitolinus, Antoninus Pius, 9: Pausanias, viii. 43. §. 3. 8 Evagrius, E. H. iii. 43. 376. C. mentions an earthquake at Rhodes, a little before the end of the reign of Anastasius, A. D. 518: which he says was the *third* instance of the kind. If so, it could never have suffered by an earthquake between the time of this second in Aristides, and that third in Evagrius, an interval of three or four hundred years; which is very improbable, as many instances of earthquakes, affecting all parts of the empire, are on record meanwhile. The first earthquake was probably that which overthrew the Colossus: Eusebius, Chronicon Armeno-Latinum, Pars ii<sup>a</sup>. 235. and Jerome, in Chronico, 143. Olympiad 139. 2.

When, therefore, we find in this very rescript of Marcus Aurelius, addressed to the Ephesians, and to

819. 5. an allusion occurs to the emperor, which must, I think, be understood of Antoninus Pius: μέγιστον δὲ, πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἄρχοντος ἔλπις, ᾧ μάλιστα χρὴ δοκεῖν εἶναι διὰ σπουδῆς ὡς ἂν οἶόν τε ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἀναλαβεῖν: especially as this presentiment was actually verified, if this be the earthquake mentioned by Pausanias. The same earthquake is referred to in the next oration, xliv. 824. 15. as a recent event: see also 841. 10-12. and 844. 5. 834. 10. one king is again alluded to, as such. And this oration it appears was written either when Aristides was still in Egypt, or soon after he was returned from thence, yet at a time when he was ill. We have seen that he returned from Egypt, unwell, before A. D. 157 at least. There is no allusion to this earthquake in Oratio ix. εἰς βασιλέα; though almost every sentence of it proves it to have been addressed to Antoninus Pius: and it may be inferred from the conclusion, to have been written before U. C. 900, when Marcus Aurelius was associated in the Tribunicia Potestas. The earthquake therefore had not happened before U. C. 900, A. D. 147.

There is an allusion to the earthquake which destroyed Rhodes, in the *Μονοδία ἐπὶ Σμύρῃ*, apparently as to an event

which had not happened so long before. In the epistle of Aristides also, to the emperors Marcus and Commodus, xli. 766. 19. there is the following statement in reference to the people of Smyrna: πάντα μὲν οὐ μικρὸν ἔργον ἂν εἴη γράφειν. ἀλλὰ σεισμῶν ποτε καὶ λιμῶν συνεχῶν συμβάντων περὶ τὸν κάτω τόπον τοῦτον τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ τινων καὶ χάσμασι διεφθαρμένων, καὶ συμφορᾶς πολυτρόπου κατεχούσης τὰς πόλεις, καὶ σίτω καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν προθυμίας ἐλλείπειν ἔστιν ὥς τῶν πόλεων διεσώσαντο, Χίους, Ἐρυθραίους, Τητίους, Ἀλικαρνασσεάς. There is no mention made here of Rhodes, Cos, or Lycia, in particular; yet these earthquakes were probably the same which affected them: and whensoever they happened, it is reasonable to suppose it was before the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

There are allusions to earthquakes also, 793. 15-24, in the xlii oration, or *περὶ ὁμονοίας ταῖς πόλεσιν*, delivered, as we may collect from 773. 5, long after the commencement of Aristides' illness, yet, from 794. 22, &c. before the death of Verus. For it mentions the joint reign of the two brothers, and their perfect unanimity; which shews that they were both still living. These earthquakes, then, were probably the same as those mentioned in the last instance.

B. C. 223 or 222. So likewise Syncellus. Yet each of these authorities, *Ad annum Abrahami*, 1908 or 1910. Olympiad 168. 1 or 2. B. C. 108 or 107. mentions another downfall, or a still more complete overthrow, of the same Colossus, at a much later period. The overthrow of the Colossus is placed by Orosius, iv. 13. B. C. 223. Polybius, v. 88, dates it not long before Olympiad 140. 3. that is, B. C. 218. Cf. Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 18: Strabo, xiv. 2. §. 5. 595.

that part of Asia in general, such a reference as this : *περὶ δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν, τῶν γεγονότων καὶ γινομένων* : and couple it with the reasons stated above, for calling in question the correctness of the date *Tribuniciaë Potestatis* *ι'*, it becomes exceedingly probable that these are the same earthquakes which the testimony of Aristides proves to have begun to happen about Smyrna and its neighbourhood, A. D. 170 : and which must have continued to happen, at intervals, in the same vicinity until A. D. 175 : and therefore that, as the edict could not have been issued before A. D. 170, when these earthquakes began, so it was actually issued A. D. 171, when they had been some while going on.

Now, it is unnecessary to observe, that such an allusion to earthquakes, or certain natural visitations, in a document which discountenances the persecution of the Christians for their religious opinions ; is in reference to the very general prejudice at this time prevailing among the Gentiles, that all such extraordinary calamities were produced by the anger of the gods, offended at the impiety of the Christians. It is more to the purpose to remark, that the *Paschal Chronicon* recites this edict, after mentioning that Melito the bishop of Sardis, Apollinaris the bishop of Hierapolis, and others, presented apologies to Marcus Aurelius, in defence of Christianity ; and as the effect which those apologies produced at the time.

Of the apology of Melito in particular Eusebius has fortunately preserved a large fragment<sup>g</sup> ; which is proved by its own statements to have been presented to a grandson of Hadrian—that this grandson had some time concurred<sup>\*</sup> with Pius, his father, in the pro-

\* It is most probably owing to this circumstance, that Eusebius commits the mistake of antedating the rescript, and

<sup>g</sup> E. H. iv. 26. 147. C—148. D.

mulgation of edicts, favourable to Christianity, both in other parts, and expressly, or by name, as addressed to Larissa, Thessalonica, Athens, and the rest of Greece<sup>h</sup>: all which might be true of Marcus Aurelius after his association in the Tribunicia Potestas, A. D. 147: of which father, or of whose empire, observes the writer, *σὺ διάδοχος ἐκταῖος γέγονάς τε καὶ ἔση μετὰ τοῦ παιδός*. There is no allusion here to Verus; so that Melito could not have tendered this apology until after Verus' death, A. D. 169. Nor does it speak of any other son but Commodus, as then alive; which confirms the conclusion; since Antoninus his twin brother had died A. D. 165, and Annius Verus, Marcus' third son, A. D. 170. Nor does it speak of Commodus himself at the time, as more than the expected successor, the heir presumptive, of Marcus and of Pius: so that, as it would not have been in character before the death of Verus, A. D. 169, so neither could it be, after Commodus' association in the empire, A. D. 175. Consequently, the apology must have been presented between these years; and it might be so, A. D. 170 or 171. By Jerome, in *Chronico*, it is placed accordingly in the tenth of Marcus, A. D. 170.\*

placing it in the reign of Antoninus Pius. How inapplicable the rescript, with the reading Trib. Pot. xv. and consul iii. would be to him, appears further from this consideration. Capitolinus, *Vita*, 4, Eckhel, vii. 2. the date of his Tribunicia Potestas is v Kal. Martias, U. C. 891; and he was consul iii, U. C. 893, and iv, U. C. 898; the last of which was Trib. Pot. viii<sup>i</sup>.

\* The date of the apology of Melito so far determines that of

the similar apology of Apollinaris, which is represented as synchronous with it. In addition to these, another apology seems to have been presented to the same emperor, and at the same time—in the extant *Legatio* of Athenagoras. This apology, it appears from the outset, was addressed to Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus; to both whom it gives the title of Armeniaci and Sarmatici. Of the former title we need not re-

<sup>h</sup> Eusebius, *E. H.* iv. 26. 148. C.

<sup>i</sup> Add to this, that this very rescript speaks of the father of the then reigning emperor, as dead—and of similar rescripts as issued by him; which it is much more consistent to understand of M. Aurelius and Antoninus Pius, than of Antoninus Pius and Hadrian.



Again, there is reason to believe that a persecution of Christianity was going on pretty generally about A. D. 169 or 170, the ninth or tenth of Marcus Aurelius. The persecution of the churches of Vienne and Lyons in Gaul, as detailed in their admirable epistle<sup>i</sup>, belongs in my opinion to this period. Eusebius, it is true, places it in the seventeenth of Marcus, A. D. 177. But herein he is not consistent with himself: for, by speaking of *these* things, that is, the particulars of the preceding persecution, as what happened under Antoninus<sup>k</sup>, (by whom, it appears, he means Verus,) and then passing, at the head of the next chapter, to relate such

peat, what was observed above, that Marcus assumed it first A. D. 164, and laid it aside after A. D. 169. The latter might fitly apply to Marcus and Verus, after that expedition against the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Sarmatæ, on which they set out in conjunction, A. D. 167, and which was terminated by the reduction of these nations, for the present, A. D. 169. The name too of Lucius Aurelius Commodus, as it appears from Capitolinus' Life of Verus Imperator, is capable of designating Marcus' colleague in the empire; especially after the time that he was adopted into the Aurelian family, and assumed the name of Aurelius in addition to that of Commodus: and under this title he actually appears in the Fasti, A. D. 161. Cf. Eckhel, vii. 87.

These considerations seem sufficiently to render it probable that the apology of Athenagoras was presented to the reigning emperors, Marcus and Verus, sometime between A. D. 164 and 169. It is no objection to this conclu-

sion, that a prayer occurs, at the end, p. 138. cap. xxxviii. *ὅνα παῖς μὲν παρὰ πατρός κατὰ τὸ δικαιοτάτον διαδέχῃσθε τὴν βασιλείαν*: for that contains no necessary reference to Commodus the son of Marcus in particular. In the mean time the date of the Legatio, supposing it to have been truly presented in the lifetime of Verus, becomes restricted to the period in question, A. D. 165—169, by the allusion which occurs in it, cap. xxiii. to the death of the cynic philosopher, Proteus, and the fact of a statue or image erected to him at Parium, his native place. This is the same Proteus, called also Peregrinus, who burned himself at the Olympic games—the date of which event, as we shewed *supra* p. 568, was A. D. 165. Between this date, then, and A. D. 169, the Legatio of Athenagoras must have been presented, and very probably in A. D. 169 itself—though before the death of Verus, which did not happen until the autumnal quarter of that same year.

<sup>i</sup> Apud Eusebium, E. H. v. i. ii. &c.

<sup>k</sup> Cap. iv. 169. A.

things as concerned his brother Marcus Aurelius, it is clear that, whether from inadvertency or not, he places the martyrdoms of Vienne under the reign of Verus. Now Verus died in the ninth of Aurelius; how then could events happen in his time, which belonged to the seventeenth? In his *Chronicon*, however, Eusebius makes the persecution synchronize with the martyrdom of Polycarp, A.D. 167: and it might synchronize, as we shall see by and by, with the martyrdom of Sagaris, bishop of Laodicea. The epistle of the church of Lyons and Vienne is addressed to the churches of Asia and Phrygia: and that may be some argument that persecutions were, or had been, going on in both places at the same time.

Now, what Eusebius proceeds to relate as more particularly concerning M. Aurelius, is the miracle of the thundering legion—an event, however extraordinary, yet attested by contemporaries \*<sup>1</sup>, Dio, Apollinaris bishop of Hierapolis, and, if we may believe Eusebius, by the letters of the emperor himself, addressed to the Roman senate, and preserved in the archives at Rome †. The precise date of this event is fixed by Dio to the time when Marcus was saluted Imperator τὸ ἑβδόμον; as he was in consequence of the victory

\* To these we may add Claudian, in vi Cons. Honorii, 339—355.

† Eusebius, v. 5, asserts this on the authority of Tertullian. *Operum* iii. 208. Ad Scapulam, 4: the latter says: Marcus quoque Aurelius in Germanica expeditione Christianorum militum orationibus ad Deum factis, imbres in siti illa impetravit. And

again, v. 17. *Apologeticus* 5: At nos e contrario edimus protectorem, si litteræ M. Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus, impetrato imbri, discussam contestatur. Tertullian, it should be remembered, was himself contemporary with the event. Cf. Orosius, vii. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Dio, lxxi. 8, 9, 10: Cf. Eusebius, *Chronicon Armeno-Latinum*, ad Marci xii; Jerome in *Chronico*, ad Marci xiii: Capitolinus, *Vita*, 24: Suidas, Ἀρνούφης and Ἰουλιανός. Prosper, *Chronicon*, 714, dates it U. C. 926.

now obtained: and not only the context of Dio, but the coins of Marcus<sup>m</sup>, prove beyond a question that this title was given him A. D. 174, in the fourteenth of his reign\*.

Tertullian<sup>n</sup> asserts that the emperor, in gratitude for the service thus rendered him by the Christians of his army, forbade the accusation of the Christians, from that time forward, on pain of death: and it is a singular corroboration of this statement that, at the beginning of the reign of Commodus, Eusebius<sup>o</sup> records an instance of the accuser of a Christian's being publicly condemned to death: which is a proof that some such law was then in force. If, however, these were the sentiments entertained and expressed by Marcus, in favour of Christianity, A. D. 174, in the fourteenth of his reign—is it credible that he would enjoin or sanction so bitter a persecution, as that of the Gallican churches, A. D. 177, in his seventeenth? Is it even consistent with his mild and philosophical temper, that he should have authorized or encouraged such proceedings at any time†?

\* Eckhel, vii. 61, infers from the coins of Marcus, that he returned himself to Rome U. C. 927: though he supposes him to have speedily left it again for Germany.

Marcus' letter relating to the miracle is commonly annexed to Justin. See page 103. Thirlby pronounces it a forgery: but he assigns no reason for this decision. It has much of the air of an authentic document. Cf. Dio, lxxi. 10. It specifies places, persons, circumstances: it does not call the Christians the thundering legion: it speaks of Pompeianus as Polemarch or field

marshal at the time—as we know him to have been, Dio, lxxi. 3: Capitolinus, Marcus, 21: Herodian, i. 14, 15: and of Vetradius Pollio, as Urbis Præfectus: wherein we may observe a critical coincidence: for the incident happened, and the letter, if genuine, was written, U. C. 927: so that there is no difficulty in supposing him Urbis Præfectus at this time, and consul, as it appears from the Fasti, two years afterwards U. C. 929.

† The character, however, of Marcus himself is not free from the charge of credulity and superstition; as appears from Ca-

<sup>m</sup> Eckhel, vii. 61.

<sup>n</sup> Apologeticus, *loc. cit.*

<sup>o</sup> E. H. v. 21. 189. B. C.

It is one of the circumstances mentioned in the history of this persecution<sup>p</sup>, that Attalus, and certain others of the Viennese Christians, who were sufferers in it, were reserved or respited for a time, until the pleasure of Cæsar, about the final mode of their execution, could be consulted. The speediness of Cæsar's reply renders it exceedingly probable that he was not far from the neighbourhood of Vienna or Lugdunum, at the time ; which circumstance is of great importance on the present question. A. D. 177, in the seventeenth of his reign, Aurelius was either still absent in the East, whither he set out accompanied by Commodus about the middle of A. D. 175, or only just returned to Rome<sup>q</sup>.

But, with regard to Verus, it is not less remarkable that from A. D. 167, when Marcus and he set out on their Marcomannian expedition, to A. D. 169, *exeunte*, the time of his own death<sup>\*</sup>, he was actually at Aquileia<sup>r</sup>,

pitolinus, Vita, 13. 19. 21 : and particularly from the Pseudomantis of Lucian, cap. 48 : Operum ii. 253, 254. Cf. Dio, lxxi. 3 : also 8, 9. 34 : Capitolinus, Marcus 14 : Lampridius, Heliogabalus, 9, and the anecdote recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus, xxv. 4.

It might, however, contribute to the tranquillity of Christianity during the reign of Commodus, that Marcia, his favourite concubine, was well disposed towards it, and protected it, Dio, lxxii. 4. Marcia was put to death by Julianus, U. C. 946 : Dio, lxxiii. 16 : Spartian, Julianus, 6.

\* Eckhel, vii. 94 ; viii. 416 : considers Verus to have died in the month of January U. C. 922 ;

but I find no good reason assigned for this conclusion, except that the middle of winter, the time to which, as he supposes, Galen fixes his death, cannot be understood of so early a period as the month of December. In which this learned writer is mistaken. A multitude of passages might be produced to shew that nothing is more common than this mode of speaking. Aristides alone would furnish abundant proof of it. The fact is, generally speaking, as June 24, or midsummer day, in popular language is called the middle of summer—so December 25, or midwinter day, in the same language may be called the middle of winter. The day is longest at the one of

<sup>p</sup> Eusebius, E. H. v. 1. 162. B—D. 27 : Lampridius, Commodus, 2. 12. Eckhel, vii. 52. 57. 93, 94.

<sup>q</sup> Eckhel, vii. 63 : Capitolinus, Marcus, 14 : Verus, 9 : <sup>r</sup> Capitolinus, Marcus, 14 : Verus, 9 :



these periods, and the night at the other: and they are the opposite tropical points of the year. And even the old Roman calendar, Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 459, and Columella, *De Re Rustica*, xi. cap. 2. place midwinter on the tenth or on the fourth of January.

But the truth is, the passage from Galen, *De Libris Propriis*, cap. ii. *Operum* i. 38. D. which Eckhel refers to, is misconstrued by him. It does not say that Marcus and Verus returned in the middle of winter; but only that Galen, and the rest of the army did so. The two emperors had set out, with a few of the soldiers, long before them; and while they were on their way, Verus died of apoplexy (Cf. Suidas, Ἀποπληξία) between Concordia and Altinum, in the Venetian territory. They were previously at Aquileia in winter quarters, meaning to renew the war in the spring: the time of the year was, consequently, the autumnal quarter, not earlier than when armies usually retire into winter cantonments. And this accounts for the circumstance which obliged them to retire thence so precipitately to Rome—viz. the recurrence of the plague with more violence than ever. That would naturally be the case in the autumnal season. Cf. Capitolinus, *Marcus*, 21.

It confirms this conclusion respecting the true time of Verus'

death, that one coin of Alexandria at least is extant, bearing date in the tenth of his reign: Eckhel, iv. 76, 77. According to the Alexandrine mode of reckoning, this tenth bears date from August 29, U. C. 922. Jerome in *Chronico*, ad Marci ix. alluding to the death of Verus, specifies a double date for it; the ninth of his reign according to some, the eleventh, according to others<sup>s</sup>.

I shall produce the passage from Galen, *loco citato*, leaving the reader to judge of it for himself. It is where he is speaking of his being sent for again to Italy from Pergamus: ἀφίκετο δ' εὐθέως ἐξ Ἀκυλίας τὰ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων γράμματα, καλούντων με· προήρηντο γὰρ αὐτοὶ χεϊμάσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς Γερμανοῖς ἐξελαύνειν. ἐπορεύθη μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐλπίζων δὲ τεύξεσθαι παρατήσεως· ἤκουον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἔτερον αὐτῶν, τὸν πρεσβύτερον, εὐγνώμονά τε καὶ μέτριον, ἡμερόν τε καὶ πρᾶον, ὃς ἐκαλείτο μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Βῆρος· ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος, ὁ μετὰ τὸν Ἀδριανὸν ἄρξας, διάδοχον αὐτὸν ἔθετο τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὸν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὀνομαζόμενον Λούκιον κοινωνὸν ἐποίησато, καλέσας Βῆρον, ἑαυτὸν δὲ μετωνόμασεν Ἀντωνῖνον. ἐπιβάντος οὖν μου τῆς Ἀκυλίας, κατέσκηψεν ὁ λοιμὸς ὡς οὐπω πρότερον· ὥστε τοὺς μὲν αὐτοκράτορας αὐτίκα φεύγειν εἰς Ῥώμην, ἅμα στρατιώταις ὀλίγοις· ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς μόλις ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ διασωθῆναι, πλείστων ἀπολλυμένων, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸν λοιμὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ

<sup>s</sup> Cf. Capitolinus, *Verus*, 11. and Victor, *Epitome*, De Marco. It is a singular thing that the death of Verus, which was due to an attack of apoplexy, should be, by any historian, attributed to M. Aurelius. Yet such is the account given of it by Aurelius Victor, De Marco; who says he was taken off by him, by means of a knife, one side of which was poisoned, the other not. A story like this is told by Plutarch of Parysatis and Statira. Vide the *Life of Artaxerxes*, caput 19. The above statement is not repeated in the *Epitome* of Victor. The fact, however, of such a report is ascertained by Capitolinus' lives of Marcus, cap. 15. and Verus, cap. 10. in both of which it is alluded to as a report which had once been current. Cf. Dio, lxxi. 2. Report attributed it also to his mother-in-law, Faustina.

on the frontiers of Germany and Venetia\*, or in the neighbouring country—within a moderate distance from Vienna, or Lugdunum, in Gaul; where his pleasure could speedily be ascertained, and as speedily notified in return. The character of Verus is by no means so inconsistent with the nature of the rescript, as that of Marcus. It might be this very character which gave boldness and encouragement to *all* the persecutions of Christianity any where, during the reign of Marcus: for the times of all, which can be determined, come within the period when Verus was still alive and reigning. His death, happening so opportunely at the end of A. D. 169, combined with the effect of the Apologies, subsequently tendered in behalf of the Christian religion; might be the means, in the hands of God, of putting a stop to all further molestation of it during the remainder of the reign of Marcus†.

διὰ μέσου χειμῶνος εἶναι τὰ πραττό-  
μενα. μεταστάντος δ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων  
τοῦ Λουκίου κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, εἰς  
Ῥώμην αὐτοῦ κομίσας τὸ σῶμα, τὴν  
ἀποθέωσιν Ἀντωνῖνος ἐποίησατο.  
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Γερμα-  
νοὺς στρατείας εἶχετο.

\* Aquileia was 800 Roman miles distant from Rome. Capitolinus, Maximini Duo, 25, reckons it a prodigious instance of speed that a courier made the journey thence to Rome, A. D. 238, in four days' time.

† It appears from the Epistle of the church of Vienna (Eusebius, E. H. *lococitato*, or Reliquiæ Sacræ, i. 285. l. 4. cap. 12.) that the time when these martyrdoms were going on was the period of some πανήγυρις or other, for the nations of Gaul, at Vienna and Lugdunum. The usual time for the exhibition of the shows of wild beasts at Rome,

as we learn from the Acta of Ignatius, was the month of December, during the Saturnalia. (Ruinart, Acta Martyrum, capp. 2. 5. p. 16. 22.) But at Vienne or Lyons the present exhibition of wild beasts had been purposely put off to a later period; see Reliquiæ Sacræ, i. 281. l. 13: 282. l. 11.

The Ara Lugdunensis, as it was called, was dedicated on the first of August (Suetonius, Claudius, 2.) Coss. Julio Antonio et Fabio Africano, U. C. 744; and games were then instituted, which were kept up ever after to the time of Dio. Strabo and Juvenal mention them in the intermediate period. But it is not known whether these games were annual, biennial, or quinquennial. If annual, they would be in course every year—and if biennial, they would be so, U. C.

But it will be said that Eleutherus was bishop of Rome, when the persecution was going on at Vienna : and Eleutherus became bishop A. D. 177.<sup>s</sup> So, indeed, he did, if we follow the statements of Eusebius. But Eusebius himself followed Irenæus<sup>t</sup>; and Irenæus does no more than specify the order and names of the intermediate bishops from Linus the first, to Eleutherus the twelfth; where his list stops short, because he was sitting when Irenæus himself was writing<sup>u</sup>. He says nothing about the times for which they each sat respectively. Eusebius' accuracy, as to the length of the bishoprics of these Roman pontiffs in particular, has with good reason been called in question by the learned world. In supposing Linus, the first of the number, to succeed to St. Peter in the fourteenth of Nero, it is extremely probable that he begins to date their succession two years at least too late. And as to the rest, if he did no more than reckon current years in each instance as complete, even this would generate in a series of eleven names successively, an excess of five or six years more: so as to place the accession of the last of them seven or eight years later than the truth.

On this principle Eleutherus, instead of succeeding

922: but if quinquennial, they would not be so until U. C. 924: as they would have been U. C. 920: on which account Dodwell and bishop Lloyd place the persecution in that year.

Because Dio Cassius, lxxiv. 3, tells us the emperor Severus was sometime governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, (in the time as it is supposed of M. Aurelius,) it has been conjectured that he

was governor when these martyrdoms took place. But, as he was born U. C. 899, this would scarcely be possible if the martyrdoms had happened even U. C. 930. Spartian, Severus, 3, he is said to have been appointed to the Lugdunensis Provincia after he was 32 at least; and from Spartian, Niger, 3, Commodus, it appears, was then emperor.

<sup>s</sup> Eusebius, E. H. v. Proœmium, 153. A. 3. 168. B.

<sup>t</sup> Capp. v. vi. vii.

<sup>u</sup> *Adversus Hæreses*, iii. iii. 203.



to Soter, A. D. 177, might actually succeed him, A. D. 169 or 170; at which time the persecution of the churches of Gaul might be still pending, or only just over. Nor is this a new opinion. It has the support of Eutychius, the patriarch of Alexandria; who places the pontificate of Eleutherus A. D. 167 or 168, in the seventh or the eighth of Marcus\*. It follows only, that the death of Pothinus, the bishop of Lyons, at the advanced age of ninety, would take place at this time, instead of as many years later; and Irenæus, whom the martyrs of Vienna recommended by letter to Eleutherus, would likewise be appointed to his episcopal charge, A. D. 169 or 170\*.

To proceed, however, with our investigation of the name of the proconsul, who was probably governing Asia, A. D. 168—169. The controversy on the subject of the proper time of the celebration of the Christian Passover, or Easter, thence called the Paschal Controversy, gave occasion to much dispute, and to many works of different authors on each side of the question. One of these writers was Melito, the same bishop of Sardis who presented the apology to Marcus Aurelius. Eusebius<sup>y</sup> has preserved a portion of this work of his also; from the proœm of which we learn that the rise of the controversy bore date from the time of the martyrdom of Sagaris, bishop of Laodicea; which chanced to fall out about the Passover or Easter.

Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, and one of the most

\* It is made a question whether Irenæus actually went to Rome with their letter; but Eusebius and Jerome both assert that he did, the former, E. H. v. iii. iv; the latter, *De Scripturis Ecclesiasticis*, xxxv. *Opera* iv. Pars ii. 112.

x Cf. also the *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, i. 190. *Annotationes*. y E. H. iv. 26. 147. B. Cf. Hieronymus, *Opera* iv. Pars ii<sup>a</sup>. 110. *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, xxiv.



strenuous champions of the practice of the Asiatic churches, mentions this Sagaris, the bishop of Laodicea and the martyr; and he mentions him after Polycarp<sup>2</sup>: which, as he is obviously enumerating his authorities for the practice in question after an historical order, is implicitly an argument that his martyrdom was later than Polycarp's\*. Now they both suf-

\* In like manner Polycrates mentions Melito, bishop of Sardis, after Sagaris; which is clearly in an historical order. He mentions also another bishop and martyr, Thraseas, ἀπὸ Εὐμενίας, after Polycarp and before Sagaris. As this martyr is not called bishop of Eumenia, and as he was buried at Smyrna, it is not improbable that he was bishop of Smyrna; and immediately after Polycarp; and that he suffered there about the same time, as Sagaris did at Laodicea. The old Roman Martyrology makes him suffer October 5, and Sagaris October 6, which last is certainly false. A Thraseas, according to Eusebius, perhaps the same, was mentioned also by Apollonius, a writer against Montanism. E. H. v. 18. 186. C.

The same letter of Polycrates, after all the preceding, but before or in conjunction with Melito, specifies the name of Papius; whom Symeon Metaphrastes in his life of Polycarp asserts to have been second bishop of Smyrna, after Polycarp, (meaning, as I should understand him, exclusively.) If so, there would be one bishop between them; and this might be Thraseas. It does not appear that Papius was a martyr, any more than

Melito; though both were dead when Polycrates wrote his letter. Camerius, according to Symeon, was *third* bishop, or next after Papius; and he had been ordained a deacon by Polycarp himself.

Irenæus, (iii. iii. 203, 204. Cf. Eusebius, E. H. iv. 14. v. 22. 188. B. C.) asserts that Polycarp was taught or instructed by *apostles*, and ordained bishop of Smyrna by *apostles*. Tertullian, ii. 40. De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum 32, tells us that he was so ordained by St. John. The Acta Ignatii (capp. 1. 3. p. 14. 16.) assert that both he and Ignatius were disciples of St. John. There is good reason, then, to believe, that Polycarp was ordained bishop of Smyrna by one of the apostles; and that this apostle was St. John.

Mention occurs of Polycarp, as bishop of Smyrna, in Ignatius' Epistle ad Magnesianos, cap. 15, which he wrote from Smyrna; and there are frequent allusions to the bishop, in his Epistle to the church of Smyrna, which he wrote from Troas (12.); and though the bishop is not mentioned by name, yet it appears both from the Epistle ad Magnesianos, and from his letter to Polycarp himself, written subse-

<sup>2</sup> E. H. v. 24. 191. D.

ferred at the same time of the year in general : hence, unless they both suffered at once, they could not both

quently from Neapolis, 1. 7, 8, that this bishop was Polycarp. He is mentioned also, ad Ephesios 21 : which too was written at Smyrna.

Polycarp's own epistle to the Philippians, a beautiful specimen of Christian eloquence, was written to that church after the martyrdom of Ignatius (9.) yet not long after it (see cap. 13. apud veterem versionem, and Eusebius, E. H. iii. 36. 108. B—D.) : and consequently in his capacity of the bishop of Smyrna. There is nothing either in this epistle, or in those of Ignatius, relating to him, which would imply that he was then a *young* man.

The time of the martyrdom of Ignatius has been already considered by me : and it has been shewn that though it might have been as early as A. D. 108, it was most probably as late as A. D. 115. The time of the death of St. John also has been fixed, with some degree of probability, to A. D. 104. As Polycarp, according to the Acta, (E. H. iv. 15. 132. A.) was eighty-six years old at his death, which the Paschal Chronicon, by representing him to have suffered in his eighty-seventh year, understood to mean eighty-six years complete, if he suffered A. D. 164, he was born A. D. 78 : and A. D. 104 would be twenty-six years old. We know not the precise year in which Polycarp was ordained by St. John ; but that he might be ordained bishop in the last year of the life of the apostle, and in the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth of his own age, is a possible case.

There is no reason to suppose that Polycarp was the first bishop of Smyrna : nor is there any authentic testimony to that fact. Suidas makes Bucolus the *first*, and Polycarp the *second*—other authorities make him the *third* or the *fourth*. In his own epistle ad Philippenses, xi. apud *Veterem Interpretem*, the following passage occurs ; Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis, vel audiui ; in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus, qui estis in principio Epistolæ ejus. de vobis etenim gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis, quæ Deum solæ tunc cognoverant ; nos autem nondum noveramus : which seems to imply that Smyrna had not yet received the gospel, when St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians was written, A. D. 60. In this case there might possibly be one bishop only at that city, between the time when a church was first established there, and the death of St. John, A. D. 104. Smyrna had certainly an angel or bishop when the epistle, Revelation ii. 8—11, was dictated to him ; but it is a gratuitous supposition to assume that this bishop was Polycarp. The date of the Revelation is most probably A. D. 95, or A. D. 96. The same letter speaks of no tribulation as yet endured by the church of Smyrna, but only of sufferings or tribulations still to come : in particular of a period of suffering which should last *ten days*. If these *days* mean, as is most probable, ten prophetic days, or years, I think it would be too distant a period to understand them of Diocletian's per-

have suffered in the same year. But they did not both suffer at once: the one suffered at Smyrna, under

secution—which lasted ten years it is true, but did not begin until A. D. 303; before which time the churches of Asia had to sustain many fierce and violent persecutions; some of them of considerable length.

It is, however, a singular coincidence that the first ten years of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, as we have had occasion to shew, were more or less a time of tribulation and suffering to the church, both elsewhere, and especially in Asia: but after that time, if we except the short interval under Severus and Maximin respectively, there was a period of comparative peace and tranquillity down to the reign of Decius, A. D. 249. Why may not these ten years be meant, extending from A. D. 161, when Marcus began to reign, to A. D. 171, when the edict, as we suppose, was issued, which prohibited the further molestation of the Christians?

Irenæus further asserts, in his letter on the Paschal Controversy, addressed to Victor, (Eusebius, E. H. v. xxiv. 193. C. and Operum iii. iii. 203.) that Polycarp was sometime at Rome during the bishopric of Anicetus. Eusebius, in Chronico, and E. H. iv. 14, as well as Jerome, places this visit in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The Paschal Chronicon, i. 479. dates it A. D. 158, in the twenty-first of Pius. Assuming with Irenæus, here, and Adversus Hæreses, iii. iii. 203, wherein he is so far confirmed

by Hegesippus (E. H. iv. 22. Cf. Epiphanius, i. 107. D. Carpocratiani, vi.) that Pius, Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherus, succeeded each other in the see of Rome, in that order, (though Jerome, and others<sup>a</sup>, place Anicetus before Pius,) still we may contend that if Eleutherus became bishop about A. D. 169 or 170, Soter might do so (E. H. v. i. iv. 19.) about A. D. 160, and Anicetus about A. D. 150. Polycarp's visit, therefore, would come between these extremes; at the one of which he would be seventy-two, and at the other eighty-two years of age: and at the mean point between them, about seventy-six.

Irenæus, also, asserts that he had himself seen and conversed with Polycarp, *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ* (iii. iii. 203. Cf. Eusebius, E. H. iv. 14. 127. C. D.): which means, in the language of Irenæus, *sometime* before he was adolescens, or thirty at least. This would be a possible case—if Irenæus succeeded to Pothinus in the bishopric of Lyons, about A. D. 169: only five years later than our assumed date for the death of Polycarp. We know no more for certain of the age of Irenæus, than that he was contemporary with Eleutherus and Victor, successively bishops of Rome; the former, according to Eusebius, v. 22, to the *tenth* of Commodus, A. D. 189, the latter, v. 28. 196. C, to the *ninth* of Severus, A. D. 201: the correctness or incorrectness of which statements, it is not my intention to consider. Irenæus was

<sup>a</sup> As Augustin, Operum ii. 120. F. Epistola liii. §. 2.



proconsul Quadratus, the other at Laodicea, as Melito informs us, under proconsul Servilius Paulus. Besides which, the persecution under Quadratus ceased, for a time at least, in consequence of the martyrdom of Polycarp: so that Sagaris could not have suffered at the Easter of the next year, A. D. 165: when, too, not Servilius Paulus, but some other person, whom Aristides calls the *sophist*, and whom we have conjectured to be Herodes Atticus, is seen to have been in office. Nor is there any year, after A. D. 165 down to A. D. 170, the governor of which has not been presumptively ascertained, except A. D. 168—169. This year is open to Servilius Paulus; and if he was actually then in office, Sagaris would suffer, and the persecution be so far revived at Easter, in his last half year, A. D. 169. In that year, or the next, Melito, Apollinaris, and the rest of the Christian advocates, might present

probably more than thirty when he was made bishop. At what time his acquaintance with Polycarp began, or by what accident in his life he was brought from Asia to Gaul; is not known. His *πρώτη ἡλικία*, as it appears to me, describes an age when he was under twenty; and possibly much under it—when he was a mere lad or boy. Had not this been the case, he would not insist so much on the tenacity of early impressions. For in his epistle to Florinus, he describes himself accordingly as *παῖς ὧν ἔτι*, at the time in question, Eusebius, E. H. v. 20. 188. A—D: and *Operum* 464—and talks of remembering things which happened then, better than more recent events. This proves that his acquaintance with Polycarp began in early life: and I think the account further implies that it began in the reign of Hadrian.

For he speaks in the same letter of seeing Florinus at that time, about Polycarp, *ἐν τῇ κάτῳ Ἀσίᾳ. . λαμπρῶς πράττοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ*. Now Antoninus Pius, and his court, were never in Asia, after he came to the throne, A. D. 138. But Hadrian was there on several occasions, from the beginning to the end of his reign: the last instance, probably, being about A. D. 135 or 136: at which time, Irenæus might be living, and strictly speaking, would be a boy.

I shall conclude this note with one more observation; viz.<sup>f</sup> that there is no reason to suppose any controversy as such, relating to the celebration of Easter, existed in the days of Anicetus and Polycarp; only that these two good bishops observed a different rule on this one point, without its impairing their Christian unity in any other respect.



their apologies to the emperor Marcus; and A. D. 171 his rescript to the Commune Asiæ might be issued in consequence of them.

I shall conclude, then, by exhibiting the latter halves of the years of these different proconsuls of Asia, with the corresponding years of the Roman emperor, and of Aristides' cure, according to the following order :

|              |       |                |                 |
|--------------|-------|----------------|-----------------|
| i. A.D. 163. | Marci | iii. Aristidis | 6. Julianus.    |
| ii. 164.     |       | iv.            | 7. Quadratus.   |
| iii. 165.    |       | v.             | 8. The Sophist. |
| iv. 166.     |       | vi.            | 9. Pollio.      |
| v. 167.      |       | vii.           | 10. Severus.    |
| vi. 168.     |       | viii.          | 11. Cassius.    |
| vii. 169.    |       | ix.            | 12. Paulus.     |
| viii. 170.   |       | x.             | 13. Albus* †.   |

\* It may be observed on the above list, once for all, that the coins of various cities, described by Eckhel, shew some of the above names, apparently as governors in office for the time being, in the reign of M. Aurelius; as Julianus, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, ii. 519; Pollio, ii. 463, 464; Severus, ii. 454; Paulus, iii. 172.

† If it were necessary to continue this list of the proconsuls of Asia, under the reign of Marcus; Apollonius, a writer against Montanus, (*Eusebius*, E. H. v. 18. 186. B.) forty years after the rise of that Hæresiarch, mentions Æmilius Frontinus, a proconsul of Asia; before whom Alexander, one of Montanus' prophets, was tried for robbery, *ληστεία*. *Ibid.* 185. C. D. The author *Adversus Cataphrygas*, also quoted by *Eusebius*, (v. 16. 180. A. B.) mentions another procon-

sul, Gratus, in whose time the heresy itself arose. This is sufficient to imply that Gratus came before Frontinus.

The Montanistæ, Cataphryges, Pepuziani, according to Theodoret, iv. 341, *Hæreticarum Fabularum* iii. 2, were all denominations of one and the same sect; the founders of which, Montanus, Prisca or Priscilla, and Maximilla, upon the same authority, appeared simultaneously. Theophylact, iii. 12. A. In *Acta Apost.* i. 8: λεκτέον οὖν τῶν Φρυγῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν, οἰομένων πῶς μετὰ διακόσια ἔτη τῆς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπεμφθαι τὸν παράκλητον ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν ὡς οἴονται προφητίδας εἶναι, Πρισκίλλη καὶ Μαξιμίλλη, καὶ ἐν τῷ συμμανέντι αὐταῖς Μοντανῶ. Theophylact's date for the Ascension is A. D. 31. But this number is evidently only a round number.

Epiphanius' date for the rise

The next question, for our consideration, is the day of the week, A. D. 164, on which the martyrdom took

of this heresy (i. 402. C. Cataphrygastæ, i.) is the nineteenth of Antoninus Pius : but (404. A. ibid. ii.) he reckons it 290 years from the first appearance of Maximilla, one of the prophetesses in question, to his own time : which (i. 2. C. D. cap. ii. 638. A. Manichæi, xx. and Epistola ad Epiphanium) was Æræ Diocletianæ 92. (pot. 90.) Valentiniani and Valentis xii. (pot. xi.) Gratiani viii. A. D. 374. This places that appearance A. D. 84 ; which is so gross an anachronism as to render it morally certain that Epiphanius wrote 190, not 290. The date, with this correction, becomes A. D. 184 : which may authorize the inference that in the former instance he meant the nineteenth of Marcus Aurelius, and not of Antoninus Pius <sup>a</sup>.

The Armenian Chronicon of Eusebius dates the rise of Montanism in the twelfth of Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 172. The Latin Chronicon of Jerome in the eleventh, A. D. 171. The Chronicon of Prosper, A. D. 170 or 171. The Chronicon of Pollux, (226. 228.) in the reign of Commodus. Apollinaris of Hierapolis, whose apology we have seen was presented to the emperor Marcus about A. D. 170, and whose acme Jerome in Chronicon places A. D. 171, is said by him, De SS. Eccles. 26, (Cf. 41,) to have written against the Cataphrygas, tunc primum exortos,

cum Prisca et Maximilla insanis vatibus incipiente (*perhaps*, insipiente or insaniente) Montano, though the corresponding place of Sophronius' Greek version has ἀρξαμένου Μοντανου also. This is the earliest writer against the Montanists, mentioned by Jerome : though many others are afterwards enumerated, as Rhodon, De SS. Ecclesiasticis, 37 : Miltiades, Ibid. 39 : Apollonius, Ibid. 40 : all of them said to have flourished in the reigns of Commodus and Severus. The same writers are enumerated by Eusebius also, in their respective places, in his Ecclesiastical History, iv. 27 ; v. 13, 14—19. Apollonius, in particular, as we have seen from his own testimony, was writing against the sect, forty years after their rise : Cf. Eusebius, v. 18. 186. B : and some conjecture may be formed of the time when, from what is next related by Jerome, that the seventh and last of Tertullian's books, περὶ ἐκστάσεως, which he wrote in defence of Montanism and against the church, (see De SS. Ecclesiasticis, 24 and 53,) was expressly intended in answer to Apollonius. Tertullian was certainly writing as late as the xv. of Severus, A. D. 207. Jerome, De SS. Ecclesiasticis 53. makes him flourish even in the reign of his son and successor Caracalla. According to the same authority, he was in the middle of his age (we may presume

<sup>a</sup> See, however, Adversus Hæreses, i. 455. C—D. Alogi xxxiii : where one date makes it 112 years from the rise of the sect to Epiphanius' own time, and another, ninety-three, from the Ascension to the rise of the same ; supposing this rise contemporary with the death of the last of the apostles.

place. The subscription of the Acts dates it, *μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου, πρὸ ἐπτὰ καλανδῶν Μαΐων*:

about forty) when he embraced Montanism, and seceded from the church—a resolution attributed to some affront, received from Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome, who succeeded to Victor, according to Eusebius, E. H. v. 28. 196. C. about the ninth of Severus. By the xvth of Severus, A. D. 207, when Tertullian was writing against Marcion, he certainly was a Montanist; and we are told that he lived to a great old age. Cassiodorus, *Chronicon*, places his acme the next year but one, A. D. 209. The probable date of Apollonius' work, as we shall see by and by, was A. D. 210, in the last year of Severus—when Tertullian might certainly be expected to write against him in defence of his own party—if he had attacked it. We are informed likewise that Soter, bishop of Rome, wrote against Montanism; and that Tertullian's answer was directed in reply to him also. But this fact is more doubtful; nor is it mentioned by Jerome or Eusebius. Soter's age would be on a par with that of Apollinaris. See *supra*, 599 and 605. The controversy of the church with the Montanists was going on most warmly about this time. Eusebius, E. H. ii. 25. 67. D. iii. 28. 31. 103. A. vi. 20. and Jerome, *De SS. Ecclesiasticis*, 59. *Operum* iv. Pars ii<sup>a</sup>. 117: Caius the presbyter also was writing against them, under Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome; and in the reign of Antoninus Caracalla. See v. 22. 196, &c. which is to be understood of Caius. This work was an answer to Proculus, or Pro-

clus, a follower of Montanus. Vide also Photius, codex 48, who mentions it under the title of the Dialogue with Proclus the Montanist, in the account there given of another work, falsely ascribed to Josephus, and really written by Caius; as appeared from the testimony of his *Labyrinthus*.

According to Eusebius, (v. 3.) the letters of the martyrs of Vienna, addressed to Eleutherus, concerned also the restoration of peace to the church, which was beginning to be disturbed at that time by the rise of this very sect. They are said to have written to the churches of Asia also on the same subject; which letters, however, were not sent or published until after their death. If these statements be correct, the rise of the heresy synchronized with the time of the martyrdoms at Vienna at least; if it did not even precede it. It may be made a question, however, whether the Cataphrygian heresy, as such, or the schism of the Encratitæ, whose principles in some respects resembled those of the former, was really the subject of their epistle. This latter sect, there is every reason to suppose, had appeared before their time—and one of their number, in the particular circumstance of abstaining from certain kinds of food, seems in some measure to have been an Encratite himself. It appears, in fact, from Jerome, *De SS. Ecclesiasticis*, xxxi. that Musanus (mentioned *supra*, iii. 593.) wrote against the Encratitæ; who must consequently have come into being before his time, which was



the old Latin version of them, a. d. vii. Kal. Martias—if the reading in question be genuine: the Pas—the latter part of the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

Be this as it may, the best authenticated date for the rise of the Montanist heresy would seem to be A. D. 170 or 171<sup>a</sup>. If Gratus was then in office, he must have come close upon Albus, and possibly A. D. 170—171, itself. With respect to any subsequent governor, there are two orations of Aristides, the fifteenth, *Σμυρναϊκὸς Πολιτικὸς*, and the twenty-second, *Σμυρναϊκὸς Προσφωνητικὸς*: the former of which was written while Smyrna was still entire, and the latter after it had again risen from its ruins; but both of which the comparison of them together proves to have been addressed to one and the same person: who at the time of the former had accompanied his father in some co-ordinate capacity or other, perhaps that of one of his legates, when he was serving the office of proconsul of Asia, and at the time of the latter, was in office, in the same capacity, himself. That such is the state of the case in both these orations appears from a multitude of internal evidences—and not least from the following passage in the second, 441. 21: where Aristides, speaking of Asia in general as contradistinguished to proconsular Asia in particular, observes, λέγω δὲ οὐχὶ τὴν μέχρι Μαίανδρου πηγῶν, οὐδ' ὅσσην ὁ τῶν ἡγεμόνων

ὑμῶν κλήρος ὀρίζεται. Had he been addressing Commodus, as has been supposed, he would have said, τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων, *your governors*, not τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὑμῶν, *you governors*.

As this proconsul, however, was not in office before Smyrna had risen from its ruins, he obviously came later than A. D. 175, the year of the earthquake; yet, since Marcus and Commodus are both spoken of as reigning at the time, he must have come before A. D. 180, the year of the death of Marcus. It is not impossible that he might be Frontinus, the same whom the testimony of Apollonius shewed to have been in office when Alexander, one of Montanus' prophets, was convicted of robbery. When Apollonius was writing, Montanus and Maximilla were still living. If they appeared first A. D. 170, he would be writing about A. D. 210, in the last of Severus. When the author *Adversus Cataphrygas*, quoted by Eusebius<sup>b</sup>, E. H. v. 16. 182. C. 17. 183. D. was writing, thirteen or fourteen years after the death of Maximilla, (and both she and Montanus are said to have hung themselves,) the peace of the world had not been disturbed by any war, either particular or general, for that length of time. We may presume, then, that they did not die before the first of Élagabalus, A. D. 218. Dated

<sup>a</sup> Especially, if it be true that Soter wrote against the Montanists, when bishop of Rome. This would still be possible, though the sect had risen, and he himself was succeeded by Eleutherus, sometime in A. D. 170 itself. <sup>b</sup> This author is anonymous in Eusebius: but Jerome, *De SS. Ecclesiasticis*, 37 and 39, compared with Eusebius, E. H. v. 17. 183. B. and 13. 177. will shew it was probably Rhodon. Nor is it any difficulty that Rhodon was a disciple of Tatian's. If he mentioned Miltiades, he was later than he; and he might have been living and writing A. D.



chal Chronicle simply, τῇ πρὸ ζ'. καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων.

from that time, the thirteen years might extend to A. D. 229 or 230, the eighth or ninth of Alexander Severus, a little before the time when he took the field against Artaxerxes, the king of Persia: Dio, lxxx. 5. <sup>c</sup>

Herodian, vi. 6—end, places the Persian war in the thirteenth of Alexander Severus, only one year before his death, in the fourteenth, as he supposes. Vide vi. 3. 18 and vii. 1. But this is a mistake; as Alexander reigned only thirteen years complete—though the authority quoted by Suidas also, under Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαμαίας, puts the length of his reign at fourteen years. The date of this Persian war is variously represented. Jerome, in Chronico, places it even in the first of Alexander. It may be inferred from Herodian himself, vi. 15 that the rupture with the Persians must have happened three or four years at least before the end of his reign. Cf. Orosius vii. 18.

Before we take our leave of Æsculapius and of Aristides, it is worth our while to reflect a moment on the sudden fame and

reputation, which the god in question seems to have acquired about this period, more particularly in Asia. There was no miracle, which in these days was too hard for him. Take for instance the following sample of his powers, from Aristides' eighteenth oration: εἰς τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ at Pergamus, 413. 8, which may remind us of the pool of Bethesda: πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τούτῳ λουσάμενοι ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔκομισαντο, πολλοὶ δὲ πίνοντες στέρνον ἰάθησαν, καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον πνεῦμα ἀπέλαβον, τῶν δὲ πόδας ἐξώρθωσε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλο τι. ἥδη δὲ τις πῶν ἐξ ἀφώνου φωνὴν ἀφῆκεν, κ', τ. λ.

That such miracles were commonly ascribed to Æsculapius, in his time, we may collect from Justin Martyr, Apologia i. 34. 13: ᾧ (leg. ὁ) δὲ λέγομεν χωλοὺς καὶ παραλυτικούς καὶ ἐκ γενετῆς πονηροὺς ὑγιεῖς πεποιηκέναι αὐτὸν (sc. Jesus Christ) καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνεγείραι ὅμοια τοῖς ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιοῦ γεγενῆσθαι λεγομένοις καὶ ταῦτα φάσκειν δόξομεν. See likewise 82. 1. Celsus also attributed miracles, oracles, &c. to him in all the cities sacred to him, Tricca<sup>d</sup>, Epidaurus, Cos, and Pergamus: O-

<sup>c</sup> Cf. the letter of Firmilian, bishop of Cappadocia, apud Cyprianum, Ep. lxxv. p. 222: either about A. D. 256. or 257, which gives an account of the trial of a false prophetess, evidently one of the Cataphryges, see p. 220, 221. twenty-two years before, ergo A. D. 234. or 235; after the death of Alexander Severus, and when one Serenianus was proconsul of Cappadocia.

<sup>d</sup> Tricca and Epidaurus are particularly mentioned as seats of the worship of Æsculapius, by Avienus, in his paraphrase of the Phenomena of Aratus. Speaking of the constellation Ophiuchus, which he considered to represent Æsculapius, he observes,—Triccae sidus stat nuninis, et cui pingui | Thure Epidauræ fumant altaria sedis—Rufi Festi Avieni Arate Phenomena, 206. Strabo xiv. 1. §. 39. 568: Æsculapius was reported to have been born by the river Lethæus near Tricca. Of this Tricca or Trica, Heliodorus, author of the Æthiopica, in after times was bishop: see Socrates, E. H. v. 22. 287. C. D. where a rule, relating to the celibacy of the clergy, peculiar to Thesaly, is mentioned, and ascribed to him.

Another famous seat of the worship of Æsculapius was Ægæ in Cilicia. Of his worship there, and his miraculous cures, see Philostratus, Vita Apollonii, i. 6—9. Vite Sophistarum, ii. 566. D. Antiochus, a contemporary of Antoninus Pius, and a native of Ægæ. It was suppressed in the time of Constantine, see Euse-

The first of these dates answers to April 25; the second to February 23; the third to March 26.

rigen, Contra Celsum, iii. 3: i. 449. B: and iii. 24: 461. B: which he set up as a counterpoise to the miraculous works of Christ and his apostles. Cf. M. Antoninus, De Rebus Suis, v. 8. vi. 43. Herodian, iv. 14. Philostratus, Vitæ Sophistarum, i. 534. D. 535 A. Polemo; Suidas, Παύσων καὶ Ἰπος.

The worship of Æsculapius had long been established in Epidaurus of Argolis, Tricca of Thessaly, and Cos: vide Strabo, viii. 6. §. 15. 242: ix. 5. §. 17. 629: and in all these places the performance of various kinds of miracles of healing was currently attributed to him. But we nowhere read in Strabo, or any other writer of his time, of the introduction of his worship into Asia; or more particularly of its being established in Pergamus or Smyrna: which, however, before the time of Aristides had become the case. In Rev. ii. 13, Pergamus is called the seat or throne of Satan; very probably because of the celebrity which Æsculapius had acquired in that city, and the devotion of its inhabitants to him, as their tutelary deity. We find allusions also, in the extant writings of Apuleius, to the fame of Æsculapius in Africa, especially at

Œea (see his Oratio De Magia, delivered in the reign of Antoninus Pius, 60, 61, 76, 77,) and at Carthage (see his Florida, p. 145, 146): in fact, according to his De Deo Socratis, 237, every where. Porphyry too, in the next century to Apuleius, makes it a serious complaint that the worship of Æsculapius in particular had been superseded by that of Jesus: see the passages quoted supra, p. 554<sup>e</sup>.

Now it is a curious circumstance, that all the writers above mentioned, Celsus, Apuleius, Justin, Aristides, were contemporaries, or nearly so: and all agree in bearing testimony to the sudden celebrity of Æsculapius. It is not less singular, however, that Celsus does not allude to Aristides, nor mention Pergamus or Smyrna among the other cities where the worship of this deity was established. Of its introduction into Smyrna, Pausanias, a later writer than Celsus, and more immediately a contemporary of Aristides, speaks thus, Corinthiaca, ii. 26. §. 7: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς τελετῆς λέγοντες Ἀσκληπιῶ μεταδοῦναι, τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην Ἐπιδαύρια ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ θεὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνου φασὶν Ἀσκληπιὸν σφίσι νομισθῆναι τοῦτο δέ, Ἀρχίας ὁ Ἀρισταίχμου τὸ συμ-

bius, Vita Constantini, iii. 56. 513. A: Socrates, i. 18. 49. B: Sozomen, ii. 5. 449. D. <sup>e</sup> Yet Suidas, voce Δομνῖνος, will shew that his reputation continued to survive, more or less, in the time of Proclus, later than Porphyry; and Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 14. speaks of his being worshipped as the tutelary genius of Memphis in Egypt, A. D. 362, in the reign of Julian. Jerome also, Operum iii. 482. *ad principium*, in Isaïæ 65, mentions that the Ethnici, or heathen, would still sleep in phano Æsculapii, ut somniis futura cognoscerent. The date of this work of Jerome's, as appears from 58 *ad calcem*, in Isaïæ vi. was thirty years since the time when Gregory Nazianzen was bishop of Constantinople: that is, since A. D. 380. Ergo, it was A. D. 410. Cf. 1256. *ad calcem*, in Osee iii. Also, 1423. *Præfatio ad Librum* iii. in Amos, the date of which is there specified to be Coss. Arcadio Augusto vi. et Anicio Probo, that is, A. D. 406.

It is probable that originally the Acta proposed

βὰν σπάσμα θηρεύοντί οἱ περὶ τὸν Πίνδασον ἰαθεῖς ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίᾳ, τὸν θεὸν ἐπηγάγετο εἰς Πέργαμον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Περγαμηνῶν, Σμυρναῖοις γέγονεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀσκληπείον τὸ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ. He says again, vii. 5. §. 4: ἐποιήθη δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ Σμυρναῖοις ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, μεταξὺ Κορυφῆς τε ὄρους καὶ θαλάσσης ἀμυγούς ὕδατι ἀλλοίφ.

The introduction of the worship of Æsculapius into Pergamus (for of this city the context proves him to be speaking) is alluded to by Aristides, Oratio xlii; and 772, 8, 9, he tells us, the τελευταῖον τμήμα of the city was sacred to him, and that his temple was situated there. He mentioned, as we saw, the Theoxenia, celebrated at Smyrna in the autumnal quarter; which were probably instituted to commemorate the arrival of Æsculapius in that city. Oratio xv. 375. 5, he says, ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας μὲν πρὸς ἑὼ βαδίζων, ἐκ νεώ τε εἰς νεὼν ἦξεις, καὶ ἐκ κολωνοῦ πρὸς κολωνόν, δι' ἐνὸς στενώπου καλλίονος ἢ κατὰ τοῦνομα. This street, the name of which Reiske conjectures to have been Golden or Beautiful, (like the Straight street at Antioch,) it appears from the Monodia super Smyrna, 426. 10, 11, was in fact the Golden. Of these two temples, one I should conclude was the temple of Jupiter, πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, so often mentioned in the λόγοι; viz. that on the west: and the other was probably that of Æsculapius, to the east, and to the sea. Cf. A. 531. 20. where a temple still building is mentioned, at a time which we have seen to be A. D. 165: and to this Pausanias may allude in the two passages above quoted.

Æsculapius, indeed, as the god of medicine, and supposed to preside over healing, generally, was not now, for the first time, in popular estimation, endued with the powers necessary to the discharge of his functions. The well known story respecting the introduction of his worship into Rome, from Epidaurus, U. C. 461, 462. (Livy, x. 47. Epitome, xi.) the Plutus of Aristophanes, and other testimonies which might be adduced, would shew that he was conceived to be possessed of these powers from the first. It is unquestionable, however, that no such familiar exertions of miraculous power, nor in any such mode, for the purpose of healing, are attributed to him anciently, as at this time. In the Anthologia, for instance, i. 110. there are four gratulatory lines, ascribed to the orator Æschines, who thanks Æsculapius for having cured him in three months of an head ache, or sore on the head, which had lasted a year. No very extraordinary cure this, nor very speedily effected. Compare it with the kinds of healing dispensations, attributed to him at this period of his history, and the mode in which they were conceived to be brought to pass. Great is the difference: and one might be tempted to suppose the god must have been asleep heretofore, or unconscious himself of the extent and variety of his own powers; until some fortunate accident brought them to light, or some sudden emergency raised him into activity.

This new impulse given to his fame as the god of medicine or healing, I think, was the ef-



only one date; and that too, in conformity to the Greek mode of expressing it; *μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἰσταμένον*: and that the further designation of the day, according to the Roman method, is an interpolation subsequently made. The original is not free from corruption; especially in the subscription: as the error in the name of the proconsul Quadratus, serves to imply. The date of the 25th of April will thus be an interpolation, produced perhaps by the supposition that the second of Xanthicus coincided with that day in the Julian year. The date of the Paschal Chronicon might be produced by a like supposition respecting March 26: and as to the alleged date of the *Vetus Interpres*, it is denied by bishop Pearson<sup>f</sup>, that the old version exhibits any such date. The reading in the place, according to every MS. is *vii Kalendas Maias*.

It is not less probable that the mode of reckoning, exemplified in the *Acta*, was the usual one at Smyrna, and in its immediate vicinity; where the martyrdom took place. It has been supposed that Smyrna had, at this time, a civil year, peculiar to itself. But this supposition is repugnant to antecedent probability; and it is further disproved by the frequent occurrence of that mode of speaking which, to describe the same date according to the usage of different places, mentions that *κατὰ Ἀσιανούς*, as one, common either to the Greeks of Asia Minor generally, or to those of Asia Proper in particular; amongst each of whom Smyrna is necessarily to be included.

But it is most clearly disproved by the testimony of Aristides in his second *ἱερὸς λόγος*<sup>g</sup>: where, having occasion to mention the fourteenth day of the second feot of the progress of Chris- the Christian miracles; all of tianity, and of the celebrity of which were of the healing kind.

<sup>f</sup> De Serie et Successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum, Diss. ii. cap. xviii. 3.  
<sup>g</sup> B. 469. 12.



month in the civil year, then current, he expresses himself thus : *σχεδὸν γὰρ ἦν τετρὰς ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ δευτέρου μηνός, ὡς νομιζομεν οἱ ταύτῃ*. He would not have said, “as we consider it in these parts,” if the reckoning had not been to that effect generally, where *he* was ; whatever it might be elsewhere. Now he makes this observation, while he was at Phocæa : but he had just come to Phocæa from Smyrna ; as he had to Smyrna from Pergamus. Pergamus, Smyrna, Phocæa, then, it is reasonable to presume, all agreed in the mode of reckoning alluded to by Aristides.

It is not necessary to our present purpose, to consider either the primitive form of the Macedonian year, or its form and constitution among the Asiatic Greeks after the conquest of Asia by Alexander. It is sufficient to observe that since the reformation of the calendar by Julius Cæsar, the civil year, as established and in use in Asia, was the original one, accommodated to the Julian.

Galen, who was a native of Pergamus, and contemporary with Aristides, tells us<sup>c</sup> of the year in use among his own countrymen that, as adjusted to the Julian year, the first of Dius coincided with the Julian date of the autumnal equinox ; the first of Peritius with that of the winter solstice ; the first of Artemisius with that of the vernal equinox ; and the first of Lous with that of the summer solstice. We may presume that the same coincidences held good in the year of Smyrna. As to the order of the months in question, there is no uncertainty. If Dius was the first, Peritius was the fourth ; Artemisius, the seventh\* ; and Lous, the tenth.

\* Artemisius was the name of a month in the year of Ephesus ; as appears from the public act, re-

cited by Josephus, Ant. Jud. xiv. x. 25.

<sup>c</sup> Operum ix. 8. A—9. D. Commentarius in Lib. i. Epidemiorum Hippocratis.

With respect to the ἀρχὴ of this year at Pergamus, Galen is virtually confirmed by Aristides. Giving an account of his return from Italy to Asia<sup>d</sup>, he makes it appear that he set sail from Patræ in Achaia, ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἰσημερίαν; was not less than a fortnight in arriving at Miletus; and by the fourteenth of the second month, as before said, was in Phocæa. This is sufficient to imply that the autumnal equinox fell out in the *first* month; and, therefore, on the *first* of that month itself.

The date of the vernal equinox in the Julian year was a. d. viii. Kal. Apriles; that of the summer solstice, a. d. viii. Kal. Julias; that of the autumnal equinox, a. d. viii. Kal. Octobres: on the principle of which analogy, it is but consistent that the Julian date of the winter solstice should have been, a. d. viii. Kal. Januarias, or Dec. 25. So it is said by Pliny<sup>e</sup> to have been fixed—Bruma Capricorni (sc. in octavis partibus) a. d. viii. Calendas Januarias fere.

The first month, then, in the year of Pergamus (and therefore, as we may presume, in that of Smyrna) bore date, Sept. 24: the fourth, Dec. 25: the seventh, March 25: the tenth, June 24. The most important of these synchronisms to our present purpose, and that too on which the greatest doubt will be considered to exist, is the date of the fourth month, Dec. 25; which Cardinal Norisius<sup>f</sup> places one day earlier, Dec. 24.

There is, however, a passage in the seventh of the Paschal Homilies ascribed to St. Chrysostom, (though certainly not his,) which leads to the other conclusion. According to this authority<sup>g</sup>, the date of the Theophania\*, that is, as the word is to be understood, the

\* Cf. Philostorgius, vi. 2. 500 D: Theodorus Lector, E. H. 566. C.

<sup>d</sup> B. 483. 11. 17. 22. 29. <sup>e</sup> H. N. xviii. 59. 74. 66. sect. i. 67. §. 3. 68. §. 1. Cf. ii. 17: also Geoponica, i. 1: Columella, De Re Rustica, ix. 14. xi. 2: Vitruvius, De Architectura, ix. 2: Vegetius, De Re Militari, v. 9: Incertus auctor, apud Censorinum, cap. 2: Servius, ad Georgica, i. 208.

<sup>f</sup> De Anno et Epochis, &c. Dissertatio i. cap. 2. p. 22, &c. <sup>g</sup> Operum viii. Spuria, 275. B. in Pascha vii. at the beginning of the Homily.

Epiphany, in the Julian year, which is known to be January 6. was the *thirteenth* of the fourth month κατὰ Ἀσιανοῦς. If the 13th of the fourth month coincided with Jan. 6, the 1st coincided with Dec. 25. Though Norisius has quoted other parts of this homily, yet I do not find that he has noticed this passage.

It follows from the above premises, that the first three months in the Asiatic year, beginning Sept. 24, and ending Dec. 24, took up 92 days collectively; which might obviously be distributed among one month of 30, and two months of 31, days respectively. The next three, beginning Dec. 25, and expiring in every common year on March 24, contained 90 days; which might be divided among three months of 30 days each. The next three, beginning March 25, and ending June 23, contained 91 days; to be distributed among two months of 30 and one of 31 days. The last three, beginning June 24, and ending Sept. 23, contained 92 days; amongst one month of 30, and two of 31 days. If the last month in the year was one of these two, in a leap year it would contain 32 days; it being the rule in the Asiatic year, as adapted to the Julian, to intercalate the supernumerary day at the end of the year.

This distribution of the months and days in the several quarters of the Asiatic year, is as well adapted to preserve its equality to the Julian in the cardinal points thereof, as any other which has been proposed. Moreover, it agrees with the testimony of the passage, produced by Norisius, from Alexander Monachus, in *Encomio S. Barnabæ*<sup>h</sup>; according to which June 11 coincided with the 19th of the *ninth* Asiatic month. Norisius argues rightly that from Sept. 24 inclusive to June 11 inclusive, the number of days cannot be less

<sup>h</sup> Dissertatio, ut supra, p. 24.

than 261: which as taken up by eight of the Asiatic months, and nineteen days of the ninth, implies six months of thirty days, and two of thirty-one, each; but no more. Consistently with the above scheme, this would be the case. The ninth month in the Asiatic year might be a month of 31 days, beginning May 24: in which case, the nineteenth of that month would actually coincide with June 11. But Cardinal Norisius cannot reconcile the testimony of this passage to his own scheme of these months, except by gratuitously supposing an erroneous reading; the nineteenth instead of the eighteenth of the ninth month.

It is true, that the author of the same homily, speaking of the celebration of Easter for the year then current<sup>i</sup>, tells his hearers, that because the Paschal full moon would fall on the first day of the week, the 26th of the seventh month—Easter must be deferred until the next Sunday, the 2nd of the eighth month. This proves that the seventh month, of which he was speaking, contained 31 days. But it does not follow that this was the seventh month, in the Asiatic year. The homily may be one, addressed originally to the people of Antioch; where the civil year differed in many respects from that of the Asiatic Greeks. Had the preacher been addressing Asiatic Greeks—as such; I do not think we should have found him speaking of the 13th of the fourth month, *κατὰ Ἀσιανοῦς*: he was more likely to have said *καθ' ἡμῶς*.

<sup>i</sup> *Operum viii. Spuria*, 283. C. D. in *Pascha vii. 5*. Cf. 284. A. B. where the interval between the 29th of the seventh, and as it is implied the second of the eighth month is reckoned three or four days; which comes to the same thing.

In this same homily of Chrysostom, or whosoever else was the author of it, 276. C. an allusion occurs to the peculiar usage of the Montanists, in the celebration of Easter; which was to count the months as solar months of thirty days each, and to reckon the fourteenth accordingly. Sozomen gives the same account of it, vii. 18. 733. B—D. whence it appears that the first day of the paschal month, according to the Montanists, coincided with March 24, and the fourteenth with April 6. There is authority, here, to suspect that in this date of March 24, Sozomen is mistaken, or the text of Sozomen is corrupt; and that the real date was March 25, *πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων*, not *πρὸ ἐννέα*. But, says the author of the present homily, the first month according to the Montanists, is the seventh, *κατὰ Ἀσιανούς*. If so, and the former began on March 25—so did the latter.



In the same passage the same author virtually makes the 26th of the seventh month coincide with April 18. The full of one moon, he observes, would fall that year two days before the vernal equinox; which means two days before March 21: consequently on March 19: too early to be the Paschal full moon. The next full moon, he continues, would fall on the 26th of the seventh month. Now, as the number of days complete in a mean lunation cannot be less than 29 nor more than 30, the next full moon to that on March 19, could not fall later than April 18. If this coincided with the 26th of the seventh month; March 24 coincided with the first. But, according to Galen, the first of the seventh month in the year of Pergamus, coincided with March 25. Here then is a circumstance of difference between the seventh month in this homily, and the seventh month in the Asiatic year, which Norisius can obviate only by supposing that the homily was delivered in a leap year: when the first of Artemisius in the year of Pergamus would certainly fall on March 24\*.

\* Page 284. C. at the close of the Homily it is observed, that as Easter Day that year fell on the second of the eighth month, so next year it would fall on the seventeenth of the seventh month: the year after on the ninth, and the third year on the twenty-ninth.

The sagacity of Archbishop Usher, as Cardinal Norisius justly observes, detected in these allusions the descriptive characters of four Easters or Passovers, from A. D. 672 to 675, inclusive; and the truth of the discovery admits

of an easy demonstration, after the years in question have once been pointed out.

Allowance being made for the difference between the meridian of Antioch, where I will suppose the Homily to have been delivered, and that of Paris, and the hours being reckoned from midnight; then by the help of Pingrè's Table of Eclipses, and the solar cycle of the Dominical letter, and the intimations furnished by this Homily itself, the following coincidences hold good:

A. D. 672. Cycle ix. Dom. Lett.  
D. C.

{ Paschal full moon, April 18. 4.  
26th of the seventh month,  
*Sunday*.  
Easter Day, April 25, 2nd of the  
eighth month, *Sunday*.

The Cardinal observes further<sup>k</sup> that Petrus Halloix (ad cap. 7 Vitæ S. Polycarpi) quotes from the Acta of Timothy, to the effect that the martyrdom of Timothy took place on the 30th of the fourth month, secundum Asianos, and the 22nd of January, juxta Romanos. This implies that the fourth month began on Dec. 24: which, I think, is repugnant to the better testimony of Galen. Besides, the Roman date may be only a gloss

|                                        |                                                                                                                                  |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A. D. 673. Cycle x. Dom. Lett.<br>B.   | { Paschal full moon, April 7. 5.<br>30. <i>Thursday</i> .<br>Easter Day, April 10. 17th of<br>the seventh month, <i>Sunday</i> . |
| A. D. 674. Cycle xi. Dom. Lett.<br>A.  | { Paschal full moon, March 27. 8.<br>15. <i>Monday</i> .<br>Easter Day, April 2. 9th of the<br>seventh month, <i>Sunday</i> .    |
| A. D. 675. Cycle xii. Dom. Lett.<br>G. | { Paschal full moon, April 15. 21.<br>30. <i>Sunday</i> .<br>Easter Day, April 22, 29th of<br>the seventh month, <i>Sunday</i> . |

These coincidences do certainly confirm the discovery of Usher; and leave very little doubt that the date of this Homily was A. D. 672. This being the case, it is too late to be of much authority in the decision of a question which concerns the Asiatic year, or the year of Antioch, A. D. 164, at the time of the martyrdom of Polycarp; more particularly upon a point comparatively speaking of such trifling importance, as whether the first of the months, in the third quarter of that year, or the third, that is, whether the seventh or the ninth month of the Asiatic year, or the year of Antioch, consisted of thirty-one days; which is the only question at issue in this instance between cardinal Norisius and myself. The author of this Homily does certainly date his first of the seventh month, in each of

the common years, A. D. 673, 674, 675, from March 25; and to the leap year, A. D. 672, from March 24: and so far the form of his year, whatsoever it was, agrees with the Asiatic. He does certainly also, as his reading now stands, make his seventh month consist of thirty-one days. But there may be an error in the reading of his text in this instance, of  $\beta$  instead of  $\gamma$ ; than which no corruption would be more easy: and in that case, while Easter day would coincide with the 25th of April, and both with Sunday, just the same; the 25th of April would coincide with the third of the eighth month, and the seventh month would be a month of thirty days, bearing date in a leap year from March 24, but in a common year from March 25.

<sup>k</sup> Dissertatio, ut supra, p. 19.

upon the Greek one; and in other respects, this subscription to the Acta of Timothy is inconsistent with the account of the Acta themselves, given by Photius<sup>1</sup>. The subscription says he was martyred three days *after* the festival called the Catagogia at Ephesus: Photius' account says, that he suffered *at* the Catagogium, and because he declaimed or preached against it: Καὶ ὅτι ταύτην ἐξέκηρυττε.

The learned are well aware that it is much more difficult to say what number of days each of the months in the Asiatic year consisted of, than what were their names, and in what order they followed upon each other. For instance, Xanthicus in the year of Pergamus was the sixth month, if Dius was the first. As to the number of days contained by it; we have supposed that all the months in the second quarter of the Asiatic year were months of thirty days: in which case, the first bearing date Dec. 25, the third, or Xanthicus, would bear date Feb. 23. On this principle the second of Xanthicus was Feb. 24\*. The Greek menæa, or almanacks, accordingly commemorate the martyrdom of Polycarp on Feb. 23: which, as these calendars are far from exact, is but a slight objection to the truth of the former coincidence †.

\* Though Valesius, as we have seen, is charged by Pearson with having mistaken the reading of the old version, vii. Kalendas Maias, for vii. Kalendas Martias; yet, considering the great accuracy and erudition of this commentator, it is very improbable that he could have committed such an oversight. And supposing he had authority for his assertion, it would be a curious coincidence that Xanthicus 2, coinciding with vii. Kal. Martias, vii. Kal. Martias in a

common year would coincide with Feb. 23, and in a leap year, like A. D. 164, when Polycarp suffered, might even be said to do so with Feb. 24.

† The names of the months in the year of Smyrna are of no consequence to our present purpose. It makes little difference to this purpose, whether they had each a proper name, or were distinguished by the numeral order of succession: nor, if they had proper names, whether those were

<sup>1</sup> Codex 254. p. 468. S. *ad dextram*.



The next step in our inquiries, therefore, is now, on what day of the week Feb. 24 fell out, A. D. 164. The ancient or modern. Aristides (A. 446. 6—459. 32.) has given a diary or journal of two of them, Posideon and Lenæon; which begins with the first of the former, and, being followed up from day to day, will be found to end as nearly as possible with the twenty-fourth of the latter. It is found also, as far as his data warrant any conclusion upon this subject, that Posideon contained only thirty days.

Posideon, reckoned from Hecatombæon inclusively, was the name of the sixth month in the Attic year; and its place in that year was *before* the winter solstice: in an intercalated year, a second Posideon came *after* it. This proves that Posideon was essentially a winter month. Anacreon speaks of it as such in his time, among the Ionian Greeks: Μῆς μὲν δὴ Ποσιδηῶν | ἔστηκεν· νεφέλαι δ' ὕδρι | βαρύνοντο· καὶ ἄγριοι | χεიმῶνες παταγοῦσι. Reliquiæ, vi.

In like manner Hesiod mentions Lenæon as a winter month in his time, at Ascrea in Bœotia, whither however his family were migrators from Cuma in Asia Minor: Μῆνα δὲ ληναῖῶνα, κάκ' ἤματα, βούδωρα πάντα, | τοῦτον ἀλεύασθαι, καὶ πηγάδας, αἱ τ' ἐπὶ γαίαν | πνέυσαντος βορέας δυσηλεγέες τελέθουσιν. Opera et Dies, 502. Suidas, Ληναῖων: ὄνομα μηνός: probably in reference to the above passage from Hesiod.

That Lenæon was actually the name of a month at Smyrna, appears from the date of a public instrument, (preserved among the Marmora Oxoniensia, xxvi. p. 45. vers. 34.) the treaty of alliance between the people of Smyrna and those of Magnesia ad

Mæandrum; concluded in that month, in the reign of Seleucus, son and successor of Antiochus Theos. And that it was also the name of a month at Ephesus, appears from the date of a decree passed there on the first of Lenæon, by Dolabella, governor of Asia, about U. C. 711: which Josephus has preserved, Ant. Jud. xiv. x. 12. This month Lenæon at Ephesus was probably earlier than April in the Roman year; for Dolabella was at Rome ad iii. id. Apriles, U. C. 710, and yet was in Asia the next year in the month Lenæon. Vide Ant. Jud. xiv. x. 10.

On the fourteenth of Posideon, as Aristides informs us, a festival was celebrated at Smyrna in honour of Neptune; who gave name to the month: and on the fifteenth, another to Æsculapius 446. 11—19: and on the eighteenth of Lenæon (455. 19—22. cf. also Δ. 527. 1.) was the ποιητῶν ἀγών. Thucydides tells us (Lib. ii. 15.) that the Διονύσια ἐν Λίμναις, which he calls the ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια, were celebrated at Athens on the 12th of Anthesterion: ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. Accordingly Philostratus, as cited *supra* p. 583. in reference to the Dionysia at Smyrna, places them still in the month Anthesterion: not, as I understand him to mean, because the month was so called at Smyrna, but because the time of the year answered to it. It is most probable that Lenæon, in which the ποιητῶν ἀγών took place at Smyrna, was the month in question: in which case, Lenæon answering to Anthesterion, Posideon answered to Gamelion—and would be the month next after the win-



day on which Polycarp was brought to the city before his trial, is called in the body of the Acta<sup>m</sup> the Σάββατον μέγα: and the day whereon he suffered, both in the subscription of the Acta, and in the Paschal Chronicon, is called by the same name. As the martyrdom certainly ensued within a moderate distance of time after the arrival in the city, and the commencement of the trial; there can be little doubt that each of these denominations is meant of the same day.

The phrase of the Magnum Sabbatum, both in this instance, and in every other instance of its occurrence in the writings of Christians; seems to me to have been borrowed originally from John xix. 31: ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου. The application of this mode of designation to a certain sabbath by one of the evangelists, determined the use of a similar phraseology, under the same or similar circumstances, among Christians. I endeavoured to shew, in its proper place<sup>n</sup>, that St. John probably called this sabbath day an high day, because two sabbaths coincided thereon; the ordinary sabbath, or seventh day of the week, and an extraordinary one, or the fifteenth of Nisan—the beginning of the feast of unleavened bread.

In the language of the Apostolical Constitutions, and indeed of Christian writers generally<sup>o</sup>, Passion ter solstice, beginning Dec. 25: like Peritius in the year of Pergamus.

It agrees with this, that Aristides' system of bathing in cold water (469. line 12—470. line 26. 2.) is said to have begun at μέσος χειμῶν; yet very clearly in the month Posideon. Midwinter is to be dated from Dec. 25. Theophrastus, περὶ κακολογίας, has it, καὶ τῷ ψυχρῷ λούεσθαι ἀναγκάζει τῇ Ποσειδῶνος ἡμέρᾳ: which is just what his guardian genius was requiring Aristides to do.

I shall remark in conclusion, that if Posideon was the fourth month in the year of Smyrna; we have supposed this month to consist of thirty days: and Aristides, as I have observed, shews accordingly that Posideon contained no more. Posideon at Smyrna would thus answer to Peritius at Pergamus, and as it might be shewn, at Antioch also; and that Peritius at Antioch was a month of thirty days, appears from the Chronicon Paschale, i. 364. 8.

<sup>m</sup> Cap. 8.

<sup>n</sup> Vide Dissertation xli. vol. iii. 160, 161.

<sup>o</sup> Constitutiones

week in general is called *μεγάλη ἐβδομάς*, an high week: Easter week also is called an high week; and Easter day especially, a great or high day. But among those who observed the rule of celebrating Easter always on the first day of the week, I agree in the opinion of Usher, Pearson, and others, that the *Magnum Sabbatum* in particular was always intended of the Saturday in Passion week \* p.

In the language of those churches, which did not observe this rule, the phrase *Magnum Sabbatum* appears to be intended of Easter day itself: a sabbath, or seventh day of the week, which, according to their mode of observing it, was kept as the first day of Easter. This use of the term would be strictly in conformity to its original use by St. John. It denoted a sabbath which coincided with the first day of the *Azuma*, the fifteenth of Nisan, as used by him; and it denoted, as I understand it, a sabbath which coincided with the beginning of Easter, and the fifteenth of the Paschal moon, as observed by these churches.

The Paschal controversy, before referred to, virtually concerned the following question †: whether the fast ‡,

\* Zonaras, xv. 9. ii. 114. A. B. speaking of a fact which happened in the reign of Leo Chazarus, uses the following words: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἔκτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἐβδομάδος τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους τοῦ Σωτῆρος γεγόνασι. τῷ δὲ μεγάλῳ Σαββάτῳ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὸν Εὐδόκιμον. Νωβελίσμιον ὁ Βασιλεὺς προεβάλλετο, καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ Πάσχα κυριακὴν ἔστειψε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ κ', τ. λ. Here we have Good Friday, Saturday in Passion week, and Easter day, mentioned

each in its order; the intermediate day by the name of the *magnum sabbatum*.

† This fast, as I conceive, was originally called *Quadragesima*, because of the interval, as nearly as possible forty hours, between the stated time on the Parasceue or Friday, when it began, and the stated time on the day of the resurrection, or Sunday morning, when it ended. Vide Irenæus, Opera, 465. 1-5. The name was afterwards transferred to

Apostolicæ, viii. 33. 364. E: Reliquiæ Sacræ, i. 150: Chronicon Paschale, i. 14. 2: Eusebius, E. H. vii. 30. 281. B: Chrysostom, Operum iv. 294. A—C. In Gen. xi. Homilia xxx. §. 1. Cf. tom. v. 525. A—E. Homilia in Ps. 145. §. 1. p Cf. Apostolicæ Constitutiones, v. 19. viii. 33. 364. E. q Eusebius, E. H. v. 23, 24, 25: Irenæus, apud Eusebium loco citato, 192. D. and Operum 464, 465. Cf. Socrates, E. H. v. 21. 282. B. C. and 22. 284. sqq.: and Sozomen, E. H. vii. 18. 732. A. &c.

which preceded by a stated interval of time the celebration of the Easter holidays, should always terminate on the eve, or in the morning, of the first day of the week—*after* the full of the moon; or on the eve of the full moon itself, the usual time of the celebration of the Jewish Passover, whensoever in the week it might fall out. We know that the churches of Asia, especially Smyrna and Ephesus—pleading traditionary prescription, as transmitted from apostles, and confirmed by the example of saints and martyrs; observed the latter rule: and regularly began their Easter, at the time when the Jews began their Paschal octave\*.

That the day which is called by the name of *Magnum Sabbatum* in the *Acta* of Polycarp, does actually denote a sabbath, appears from cap. 7: where it is

Lent, and the fasts in Lent generally, whether of two weeks', three weeks', six weeks', or seven weeks' duration in all. See Socrates, E. H. v. 22. 286. A—C. who expresses his wonder that the same word, *quadagesima*, should have so many different meanings. Cf. Sozomen, vii. 19. 735. A. B.

\* Mosheim maintains that the charge preferred by Victor against the churches of Asia, was not their keeping Easter, when the Jews were keeping their Passover; but their keeping the Jewish Passover itself. Tertullian (ii. 77. *De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum*, 53.) says of a certain Blastus in his time: *Est præterea his omnibus etiam Blastus accedens, qui latentem Judaismum vult introducere. Pascha enim dicit non aliter custodiendum esse, nisi secundum legem Moysi, XIII. mensis*: which so far seems to favour that opinion: (Cf. Eusebius, E. H. v. 15. 20: Theodorit, iv. 313. Hæ-

reticarum Fabularum i. 23.) Euphanius (i. 419. C. D. 420. A. B.) tells us that the *Tessarescædecitæ*, or *Quartodecimani*, kept one day as their Passover or Easter, while (cap. 3.) the rest of the church kept seven; differing only about that *one* day; which some held to be the anniversary of the day when our Lord suffered, without regard to the fourteenth of the moon, and which day from copies of the *Acta* of Pilate they collected to be March 25; others held the *fourteenth* of the *moon* to be *this* day, &c. Cf. 820. D. Audiani ix—825. Ibid. xii. and Theodorit, iv. 343. *Hæreticarum Fabularum* iii. 4. Vide also Socrates, E. H. iv. 28. 245, about A. D. 371; of the change made by the Novatians of Asia, in their mode of keeping Easter, which before had agreed with the practice of the rest of the church: and cf. v. 21. 281. A—282. D.



said that the party, who apprehended Polycarp, set out in pursuit of him, τῇ παρασκευῇ, δείπνου ὥραν : that he was arrested ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας ; sometime in the course of the same evening : and that he was brought to the city (cap. 8.) when it was now the Magnum Sabbatum : ὁντος σαββάτου μεγάλου. The use of τῇ παρασκευῇ absolutely can be understood only of the Friday ; and therefore the Magnum Sabbatum, which followed upon the next day, must denote a Saturday.

Accordingly, A. D. 164, cycle 5, Dom. Let. B. A. February 23, according to the tables, was Wednesday, and February 24, was Thursday : the former of which I consider to be equivalent to Friday, and the latter to Saturday.

But a question will naturally be demanded here. Admitting that the Magnum Sabbatum denotes Saturday, Easter day—at Smyrna—in the year when Polycarp suffered ; could this Easter be celebrated so early as February 24 ? The answer to this question is supplied by Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, who published a Paschal Cycle of nineteen years, towards the end of the third century. The date of the vernal equinox was fixed by that cycle to the twenty-sixth of Phamenoth ; the twenty-second of Dystrus ; and the twenty-second of March : all which he supposed to be coincident. After stating which he proceeds<sup>r</sup> :

Εὐρίσκεται δὲ ὁ ἥλιος, ἐν τῇ προκειμένῃ Φαμενώθ ἕκτη καὶ εἰκάδι, οὐ μόνον ἐπιβὰς τοῦ πρώτου τμήματος, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τετάρτην ἡμέραν ἐν αὐτῷ διαπορευόμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ τμήμα πρῶτον δωδεκατημόριον, καὶ ἰσημερινόν, καὶ μηνῶν ἀρχὴν, καὶ κεφαλὴν τοῦ κύκλου, καὶ ἄφεσιν τοῦ τῶν πλανητῶν δρόμου, καλεῖν εἰώθασι. τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου μηνῶν ἔσχατον, καὶ τμήμα δωδέκατον, καὶ τελευταῖον δωδεκατημόριον, καὶ τέλος τῆς τῶν πλανητῶν περιόδου. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τιθεμένους τὸν πρῶτον μῆνα, καὶ τὴν τεσσαρεσκαί-



δεκάτην τοῦ πάσχα κατ' αὐτὴν λαμβάνοντας, οὐ μικρῶς, οὐδ' ὥς ἔτυχεν, ἀμαρτάνειν φαμέν.

It appears, then, that there were persons in the time of Anatolius, who celebrated the passover in the last month of the natural year, before the vernal equinox; not in the first, and after it. As he dates the actual ingress of the sun into the vernal quarter on March 19\*, and so makes March 19 the first day of what may be called his Paschal month, the month within which upon his principles Easter or the Passover was to be celebrated—they who adopted the opposite rule might make March 18, the last day of their Paschal month; and February 17, the first. Easter, on their principles, might be celebrated between February 17, on the one hand, and March 18, on the other †.

\* On the principle laid down by the Scholiast, ad Arati Phænomena, 513: that at the equinoctial points the days and nights are equalized, strictly speaking, *περὶ μόνas τὰς πρώτας μοίρας*—though to the eye of sense they may appear to be so for some time after.

† I am ready indeed to admit that it is, and it must be, a startling conclusion at first sight, that among any description of Christians, Easter as such could be celebrated so much before the vernal equinox, as any time between the two extremes of February 17 and March 18, respectively. But such seems to be the just, and even the necessary, inference from the testimony of Anatolius, above produced; at least if this part of his Paschaliū, or Paschal Cycle, (which with the remainder of the extract from it, quoted by Eusebius, is all that exists at present in the original Greek) be allowed to be genuine. The whole of it, indeed, exists in a Latin version, ascribed to Rufinus; the accu-

racy of which, however, as strictly representing the language and statements of the original, has been called into question; and these doubts concerning its fidelity, with respect to those parts of the original which no longer exist in the Greek, are to a certain extent supported and confirmed by the fact that there are many discrepancies between the Greek extract preserved by Eusebius, and the corresponding part of the Latin version.

Though the name of *δωδεκατημόρια* might be given to certain parts or divisions of each of the signs of the Zodiac themselves, (see Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Astrologos*, §. 9. p. 339. §. 24, 25. p. 342,) yet there can be no doubt that by the twelve portions or segments, alluded to here, Anatolius means the twelve divisions of the great circle of the heavens, called the Ecliptic, in which the annual motion of the sun takes place; each of them occupied by one of the signs of the Zodiac, and traversed successively by the sun in 30 days' time,

or a twelfth part of 360 days<sup>s</sup>. If so, and Anatolius really placed the ingress of the sun into the first of these signs on the 19th of March; he must have dated its ingress into the last on the 17th of February, and its exit from it on the 18th of March: and between these extremes, according to the *prima facie* construction of his language, must the full moon have fallen, which, in conformity to the practice of certain of the Christians in his time, determined the time of their Easter; that is, upon the same construction of his language, the Paschal full moon, which regulated their observance of Easter, must have been liable to fall on any day between February 17 and March 18.

Ægidius Bucherius, De Doctrina Temporum, in his comments upon the Cycle of Anatolius, for reasons which he has there detailed, is of opinion that Anatolius' date of the vernal equinox is not rightly stated by Eusebius; that he himself fixed it, according to the Julian Calendar, to March 25, (viii Kal. Apriles,) and that Eusebius, to serve a particular purpose, intentionally altered it to March 22 (xi Kal. Apriles). I do not feel

myself called upon to consider at length the arguments of Bucherius. I will observe only, with respect to this last supposition, so disparaging to the honesty and fidelity of Eusebius, that nothing can be more gratuitous, or more unsupported by the necessary proof.

It is observable that this date of the equinox in question, xi. Kal. Apriles, March 22, is corroborated by two other dates, Dystrus 22 and Phamenoth 26, the former according to the Syro-Macedonian, the latter according to the Egyptian Calendar, in Anatolius' time. There is no doubt that, at this period, Dystrus 22 in the Syro-Macedonian Calendar agreed with March 22 in the Julian; and there is no more, that the first of Thoth, in the Egyptian year, coinciding, as at the same period was the case, with August 29, the first of Phamenoth, the seventh month in the same year, coincided with February 25: and therefore, in an ordinary year, the 26th of Phamenoth with the 22nd of March. But A. D. 276, the year in which Bucherius fixes the date of this cycle, was a leap year; and in a leap year the 26th of Phamenoth would coincide with March 21.

<sup>s</sup> Cf. Arati Phænomena, 541—543, and the Scholia thereupon. Also Sextus Empiricus, Adversus Grammaticos, i. cap. 13. §. 304. Line 544, the Scholiast, indeed, observes, διαφέρει δὲ ζώδιον δωδεκατημορίου, τῷ μὴ συναπαρτίζειν ἕκαστον ζώδιον τὸ δωδέκατον τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ, ἀλλ' ἕνια μὲν ἐλλείπειν, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Κριοῦ καὶ Καρκίνου ὅπου δὲ υπερβάλλειν, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Σκορπίου καὶ τῆς Παρθένου. Cf. ad versum 555. Ad versum 550. the sun is reckoned to pass through each sign in one month and about eleven hours. τῶν δωδεκατημορίων δὲ ἕκαστον, it is observed ad versum 555. λ' μοίρας ἔχει. Suidas voce ἐποχή, has an extract from some anonymous scholiast, illustrative of this subject; part of which is as follows: ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν ζωδίων διαιρεῖται εἰς λ' μέρη, ἃ καλοῦνται ΜΟΙΡΑΙ· ἡ δὲ μοῖρα διαιρεῖται εἰς ξ' μέρη, ἃ καλοῦνται ἐξηκοστὰ πρῶτα λεπτά. καὶ τὸ ἐν πρῶτον λεπτὸν διαιρεῖται εἰς ἐξηκοντα πάλιν, ἃ καλοῦνται δεύτερα λεπτά. κ', τ. λ. Compare with this, Sextus Empiricus, Adversus Astrologos, §. 5. 339, and Ambrose, Operum i. 68. F. 69. A. Hexaëmeron, iv. iv. §. 14: Et quia triginta diebus sol duodecimam partem sphaeræ ejus, quæ inerrabilis habetur, regreditur, quo gyrys solis anni circuitu compleatur, in triginta portiunculas, quas μοίρας Græci vocant, unamquamque duodecim illarum distribuunt portionem: ipsam quoque portiunculam in sexaginta vices conferunt. rursus unumquodque de illis sexaginta sexagies secant.

Now there was an eclipse of the moon <sup>u</sup> on February 13, A. D. 165, at 10.45 in the evening for the meridian of Paris; whence we may collect that the mean full moon, for the meridian of Smyrna, A. D. 164, must have fallen about ten in the evening on February 24. If this was the Paschal full moon, the Passover or Easter in that church would be celebrated on February 24. The cycles, indeed, which might regulate the observance of Easter at this time, were probably not so exact, as not to vary from the true time of the moon by a day or two, in excess or in defect. But the mean full moon could not fall out later than February 25: in which case, Easter or the Passover might still be celebrated on February 24, as before \*.

Bucherius has not noticed this circumstance in his supposed corruption of the numbers of Anatolius; and it may incline us to think, (assuming the numbers to be genuine,) that the other date of the publication of the canon, A. D. 277, which is also mentioned by Bucherius, is the true one: for A. D. 277 was a common year; when Phamenoth 26 and March 22 would of course coincide <sup>t</sup>.

But, as I said before, it would take up too much time, and require too many details, to enter at large upon the consideration of such a question as this. To revert to the point which we have been hitherto discussing. Admitting the date of the Acta for the martyrdom of Polycarp, Xanthicus 2, in the year of Smyrna, Σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ—to be the truth; and admitting the second of Xanthicus in that year

to have coincided with February 24 in the Julian year—(both which conclusions, I think, may be considered sufficiently well established)—it follows that the Σάββατον μέγα, whatever be the kind of sabbath meant by it, coincided with February 24. This would be enough for our purpose; whose object it has simply been to shew, that if Polycarp actually suffered A. D. 164, and actually on February 24 in that year, he actually suffered on a Sabbath. If this Sabbath was actually Easter day at Smyrna, it will follow, that, account for the anomaly as we may, Easter might begin to be celebrated among the Christians of Smyrna, at this time, even as early as February 24.

\* Both the Subscription to the Acta, and the Paschal Chronicle, tell us that Polycarp suffered σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ, ὥρα ὀγδόη, or ὥρα ἡ'. Dr. Townson (Ob-

<sup>t</sup> Jerome, De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, 73, Operum iv. Pars iia. 120, places the acme of Anatolius, in the reign of Carus and Probus. Syncellus, i. 723. 3. about the third of Probus. According to Eusebius, E. H. vii. 32. 288. A. he was dead before the commencement of the persecution under Diocletian, A. D. 303; or rather, before the 18th of Diocletian, A. D. 301. or 302: E. H. viii. 2. 294. A. B. <sup>u</sup> Pingrè's Table.



The writers of the Epistle declare that they should always keep in memory the *natalis*, or day of the martyrdom, of the blessed Polycarp<sup>t</sup>; and the Greek calendar still celebrates the anniversary of his death upon February 23. To this, and the above considerations, in proof of the date in question, we may add the testimony of the Acta of Pionius; which represent him also to

servations on the Four Gospels, Diss. viii. Part i. sect. 3.) concludes from the detail of previous circumstances that this denotes eight in the morning, not two in the afternoon: and thence infers that the church of Smyrna observed a computation of hours, the same with the modern: intimations of which fact we have also seen in the Gospel of St. John. Though this conclusion cannot be admitted as certain; yet I think it much more probable than the contrary.

The Acta plainly inform us (cap. 7. sqq.) that the pursuers of Polycarp set out in quest of him, under the direction of a guide to his retreat, τῇ παρασκευῇ δέιπνον ὄραν: and that they reached his place of concealment ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας. But they do not tell us how far distant his place of concealment was from the city; nor consequently do we know how long they would be in making the journey. Nor is it certain, whether δέιπνον ὄραν at Smyrna denotes the ninth hour of the day, or the first of the night; though the latter is more agreeable to the usage of the Greeks.

I think, however, that ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας may justly be supposed to mean "late at night:" in which case the party had been four or five hours on the road. Polycarp was found ἐν δωματίῳ κατακείμενος

ὑπερφῶ: which may describe the position of one reposing, or preparing to repose, for the night, in a loft. He commanded meat to be set before his pursuers: which implies that they had not yet had time to sup. He begged for an hour's respite, before they set out with him on their return, to be spent in prayer: he protracted this hour by the fervency of his devotions to two. Perhaps then the party could not have set out on their return before two in the morning: they might arrive in Smyrna about daybreak, at six: judicial proceedings would be ready soon after that time to begin: the trial would ensue, and all might be over in two hours' time; that is, by eight in the morning.

The activity of the Jews both before and after the martyrdom; a circumstance particularly noticed in the Acta; would imply at first sight that Polycarp could not have suffered on a sabbath. But this is too plainly attested to be called in question; and the conduct of the Jews must be resolved into a principle of zeal, which made them forget the sanctity even of their own sabbath, the better and more effectually to compass the destruction of so eminent a Christian as Polycarp; and to vex and mortify his followers.

<sup>t</sup> Eusebius, E. H. iv. 15. 135. B.



have been apprehended at Smyrna, on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Polycarp, Secundo die sexti mensis; which would answer to February 24.

These Acta are extant only in the Latin<sup>u</sup>. The exordium of them is as follows: Secundo itaque die sexti mensis, qui dies est quarto Idus Martias, die sabbati majore, natale Polycarpi celebrantes genuinum, Pionium . . . vis persecutionis invenit. sed . . . Pionius . . . futura prævidit. ergo ante diem quam natalis Polycarpi martyris adveniret, cum Sabina et Asclepiade dum *jejuniis* devotus insisteret, vidit in somnis sequenti die se esse capiendum<sup>x</sup>. And again: Facta ergo oratione sollemni, cum die sabbato sanctum panem et aquam degustavissent, &c.<sup>y</sup> Also: Innumeræ quoque aderant feminarum catervæ, quia erat dies sabbati, et Judæorum feminas ab opere diei festivitas relaxabat<sup>z</sup>.

Here, if no attention be paid to the gloss, in all probability, of the translator, that the day of the month coincided with iv. ides of March, which is impossible of the *second* of *any* Grecian month—the remarkable circumstances are, that the day *before* the apprehension, Pionius was fasting, which is an indication of the Easter preparation—that *on* the day of the apprehension, the second of the sixth month, and the true birthday of Polycarp, they had already tasted of the holy bread and water, which is an indication of the arrival of Easter day—and that this also, as in the time of Polycarp, is called the Sabbatum majus, or Σάββατον μέγα, and that it coincided with the seventh day of the week, or Jewish sabbath likewise.

The subscription to these Acta is variously represented; but if we take that of the Colbertine MS., of which Ruinart most approves, it stands as follows<sup>a</sup>: Acta sunt hæc sub proconsule Julio Proclo et Quinti-

<sup>u</sup> Acta Martyrum, 140.    <sup>x</sup> Ibid. cap. 2.    <sup>y</sup> Ibid. 3.    <sup>z</sup> Ibid. cap. 3.    <sup>a</sup> Cap. 23.

liano, Consule Imperatore Caio Messio (*legitur* Gaïo Mense) Quinto Trajano Decio, et Vitio (*legitur* Vizeto) Grato: et ut Romani dicunt, iv Idus Martii, et ut Asiani dicunt, mense sexto, die sabbati, hora decima. The Paschal Chronicon<sup>b</sup> agrees with this subscription so far as to place the martyrdom under the same pro-consul, on the fourth of the ides of March, and the 12 of the sixth month, secundum Asianos, sabbati hora XII. in the first of Decius. I should apprehend, however, that there is some confusion in these dates between the time and circumstances of the arrest and first examination of Pionius, and those of his death: between which, and his apprehension, there was as great an interval as might have extended from the second, to the eleventh or twelfth day of the month. The apprehension is represented in the body of the *Acta* to have taken place on the second of the month and on the sabbath, but not the death; which the Greek calendar commemorates on the eleventh of March.

If Pionius suffered under Decius in February or March, it might be concluded at first sight that he suffered A. D. 250, or A. D. 251: for the reign of Decius is circumscribed between autumn A. D. 249, and autumn A. D. 251. The 24th of February, however, could not again have fallen out at the martyrdom of Pionius, as it had done in the year of the martyrdom of Polycarp, unless the martyrdom of Pionius had fallen out exactly eighty-four years, or three solar cycles, after that of Polycarp, A. D. 164. Eighty-four years exactly after that time would cause February 24 again to fall upon the Saturday—and this was actually the case A. D. 248. Cycle 5. Dom. Let. B. A.

There is no allusion in the body of the *Acts* to more than one emperor as reigning at the time<sup>c</sup>, and to some

<sup>b</sup> i. 503. 8, 9. 504. 7—11.

<sup>c</sup> Yet Herennius, the son of Decius, was associated with him soon after his own accession, A. D. 249.

commands of his, *Contradicientibus non vim inferre, sed mortem*<sup>c</sup>: nor any circumstance to identify them with the reign of Decius. The incidental reference to the lapsing of the bishop of Smyrna, we do not know to be to a fact which is reported to have happened in the persecution under Decius<sup>d</sup>. Decius and Gratus, it is true, appear as consuls together A. D. 250: but the former appears there for that year as consul ii. whereas in the subscription he is represented as consul ἀπλως. In another subscription, as given by Ruinart, he is represented as consul iii. so that these subscriptions are much at variance with each other.

There is, however, in Eusebius<sup>e</sup>, a letter from Dionysius bishop of Alexandria to Fabius bishop of Antioch, each of whom was contemporary with the event itself, giving an account of the persecution under Decius; which proves that the same things had been going on in Alexandria a full year before the edict of Decius was issued—which edict was issued immediately upon his accession. We have thus contemporary testimony to the fact of persecutions going on in the East, A. D. 248. Sulpicius Severus<sup>f</sup> also reckons it thirty-eight years between the persecution under Severus and that under Decius: which, as Severus died February 4, A. D. 211, can hardly be dated from a later period than A. D. 210.

It is a further difficulty on the supposition of Pionius' martyrdom, A. D. 250, that if the *Acta* of Maximus<sup>g</sup> are genuine, that martyr suffered in the province of Asia, under proconsul Optimus, secundo Idus Maii, soon after the edict of Decius was issued—*decreta invictissimorum principum, quæ nuper advenerunt*<sup>h</sup>. This would be May 14, A. D. 250. The same procon-

<sup>c</sup> Cap. 16.  
Lib. ii. 46.

<sup>d</sup> Capp. 15, 16.  
<sup>g</sup> Ruinart, 156.

<sup>e</sup> E. II. v. 41, 236. D.  
<sup>h</sup> Capp. 1, 2, 3.

<sup>f</sup> *Sacrae Historiæ*,

sul appears in the next Acta, presiding at the martyrdoms in Lampsacus, die Iduum Maiarum, according to one reading, and Martiarum, according to another<sup>i</sup>. But when Pionius suffered not Optimus, but Quintilianus, was proconsul.

I will assume, then, as most probable, that whether under Decius or not, Pionius suffered exactly eighty-four years after Polycarp, A. D. 248. As Pionius was a presbyter of Smyrna, said to have been ordained by Polycarp himself, there can be little question that he observed the same rule as Polycarp, in the celebration of Easter. Nor is it a little remarkable that, as the paschal full moon, A. D. 164, fell out at Smyrna upon February 24, about ten at night, so A. D. 248, it fell out at the same place, on February 26, about ten in the morning<sup>k</sup>. If Easter could be celebrated at Smyrna A. D. 164, on February 24, it might be so on the same day, A. D. 248. This coincidence, added to that of the day of the week, must contribute greatly to corroborate the truth of our previous conclusions, and to confirm the authenticity of these Acta of Pionius, which some learned men have been disposed to question\*.

The Acta of the Martyrs of Palestine, which Eusebius committed to writing from his own observation, and which are found incorporated in his Ecclesiastical History, lib. viii. p. 317, supply some coincidences favourable to our mode of reckoning, and against the Tables: with the mention of which I shall conclude this Dissertation.

The martyrdoms in question took place in the course of the memorable persecution by Diocletian, Galerius,

|                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>* Eusebius' copy of the Acta of Polycarp probably had annexed to them an account of the Acta of Pionius; which might</p> | <p>give occasion to his mistake, in speaking of the latter as one of the sufferers in the same persecution. E. H. iv. 15. 135. C-136. A.</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

<sup>i</sup> 158. Capp. 1. 6.

<sup>k</sup> Pingre's Table.



and Maximin. The first year of the persecution coincided with the nineteenth of Diocletian, and the time of the year when it began was the spring<sup>l</sup>. Diocletian's years bear date from the autumnal quarter of A. D. 284<sup>\*</sup>; so that the spring of his nineteenth year was that of A. D. 303. From the Terminalia or February 23 in that year, to the Ides of June, or June 13, A. D. 313, when the edict was issued for the restoration of the churches, the author of the work *De Mortibus Persecutorum* reckons it ten years, and four months current or complete<sup>m</sup>. Both this author and Eusebius agree that the edict of Galerius, followed soon after by his death, in which he suspended the persecution, was issued A. D. 311; according to the one, *Pridie Kalendas Maias*, according to the other, when nine or ten years of the persecution were over<sup>n</sup>. In less than *six* months the persecution was renewed by Maximin<sup>o</sup>: the winter of the ensuing year, A. D. 312, was followed by famine, pestilence, and all the horrors minutely detailed in each of our authorities<sup>†</sup>: and the year after, A. D. 313, distinguished by the third consulate of Constantine and Licinius, by the double defeat and ultimate death of Maximin, saw the persecution brought to a close<sup>p</sup>.

Hence the several years for which it lasted will stand as follows :

\* Vide Eckhel, viii. 2.

† This part of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius was quoted by Andreas, bishop of Cappa-

docia, in explanation of Revelation vi. 8. Vide Arethas, apud Œcumenium, ii. 705. C. D.

<sup>l</sup> E. H. viii. 2. 294. A. B. Ibid. 318. B. C. 11, 12. 48. Cf. Eusebius, viii. 15. 313. D.

<sup>m</sup> Apud Lactantium, Capp. 10, 11, 12. 48. Cf. Eusebius, viii. 15. 313. D. <sup>n</sup> Lactantius, 33, 34, 35: E. H. viii. 16. 314. B. 17. 315. Lactantius, 31. Galerius' vicennalia are spoken of as at hand; which they would be A. D. 311: and 33, his eighteenth year, when he was smitten with worms, and a year after, in his eighth consulship, A. D. 311, the publication of his edict: and it appears from 35 that his vicennalia, if he had lived, would have borne date with the first of March the next year. There is some difficulty about these dates it is true; but of no consequence to the present question. <sup>o</sup> E. H. ix. 2: Lactantius, 36. 39.

<sup>p</sup> Eusebius, E. H. viii. 15. 314. B: ix. capp. 2, 3. 6. 351. D: 7. 352. A. B. C: 8, 9. 360. A—361. A: 10. 363. *ad calcem*. Lactantius, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49.

|       |           |         |               |
|-------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| i.    | A. D. 303 | Cycle 4 | Dom. Lett. C. |
| ii.   | 304       | 5       | B. A.         |
| iii.  | 305       | 6       | G.            |
| iv.   | 306       | 7       | F.            |
| v.    | 307       | 8       | E.            |
| vi.   | 308       | 9       | D. C.         |
| vii.  | 309       | 10      | B.            |
| viii. | 310       | 11      | A.            |
| ix.   | 311       | 12      | G.            |
| x.    | 312       | 13      | F. E.         |
| xi.   | 313       | 14      | D.            |

Eusebius, following in all probability the computation in use at Cæsarea in Palestine, compares the Greek dates throughout these Acta simply and absolutely with those in the Julian year. There is but one exception to the contrary, where Dæsius 8 is made to coincide with June 7. Valesius therefore proposes to correct June 7 by June 8: but it is just as allowable to correct Dæsius 8 by Dæsius 7.

We have, then, the following synchronisms specified, where the days of the month, and in some instances the days of the week, are expressed.

|                                                                   |            |                       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| Dæsius 8 or 7. June 7. A Wednesday :                              | A. D. 303. | year i <sup>q</sup> . |
| Xanthicus 2. April 2. The Parasceue :                             | 305.       | iii <sup>r</sup> .    |
| Dius 20. November 20. Προσάββατον<br>or Friday :                  | 306.       | iv <sup>s</sup> .     |
| Xanthicus 2. April 2. ἐν αὐτῇ κυριακῇ<br>ἡμέρᾳ τῆς... ἀναστάσεως. | 307.       | v <sup>t</sup> .      |

Now, according to the Tables, June 7, A. D. 303, should have been a Monday: but Eusebius makes it a Wednesday: and November 20, A. D. 306, should have been a Wednesday—but Eusebius makes it a Friday.

With regard to Xanthicus 2, or April 2, A. D. 305, which Eusebius calls the Parasceue, Valesius under-

<sup>q</sup> Lib. viii. De Martyribus Palestinae, l. 319. A. <sup>r</sup> Ibid. 4. 325. D: 3. 321.  
A. D. 4. 323. D. <sup>s</sup> Ibid. 6. *ad principium*. <sup>t</sup> Ibid. 7. *ad principium*.

stands him to mean the Friday : but the Tables shew it on the Monday. There can be no question about the year, which is very plainly stated to be the *third* of the persecution. The second year is mentioned 321. A : and in that year Dystrus 24 or March 24, 322. A : soon after (*ibid.*) the abdication of Diocletian and the elder Maximianus is said to have ensued, up to which time Lactantius gives us the following summary of particulars :

First, the Vicennalia of Diocletian, xii Kal. Dec.<sup>u</sup> A.D. 303 : then Jan. 1, his ninth consulate, A. D. 304 : then a year complete after the Vicennalia, that is, xii Kal. Dec. A. D. 304, when he dedicated the circus at Nicomedia : then the ides of December, the same year : then March 1<sup>u</sup> in the next, A. D. 305 : and, lastly, May 1, when Diocletian abdicated the purple<sup>x</sup>.

There is some difference, it is true, between the two authorities ; as Lactantius supposes the abdication on May 1, and Eusebius, the martyrdom of Apphianus, April 2, when Maximin was already emperor or Cæsar\*. On account of this difference, Ruinart supposes the martyrdom in question to have happened A. D. 306, in the third year of the persecution *exeunte* <sup>y</sup>. But the years of the persecution properly bear date from February or March, not from May, in every year. It is not impossible that instead of the second of April, A. D. 305, Eusebius might mean the second of May, when Maximin was actually Cæsar : and, if the term *Parasceue* is to be understood of the Friday, it makes in favour of

\* The *Fasti Idatiani* to a certain extent corroborate Eusebius : by dating the *Nuncupatio* of Constantius and Galerius, as Augusti, April 1. Diocletiano ix. and Her- culiano viii. Coss. which answer to A. D. 304 ; a year, indeed, too

soon. The *Vita Constantini* of Eusebius also places the abdication the year after the subversion of the churches, which would be A. D. 304 : see i. 18. 417. A : 13. 413. C ; iii. 1. 482. C. Cf. Orosius, vii. 25.

<sup>u</sup> Cap. 17.      <sup>x</sup> Cap. 19. Cf. 46. Also Eusebius, E. H. viii. 13. 319. A—C. <sup>y</sup> Page 322. 20. Note.

this supposition, that May 2, A. D. 305, according to the Tables, was Wednesday, and, therefore, as I should consider it, was Friday.

With regard to the day specified in the fifth year, A. D. 307, *αὐτῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς . . . ἀναστάσεως*—Valesius supposes it to denote the Sunday. Yet April 2, A. D. 307, was Wednesday. The words are a plain description of Easter day, which the churches of Palestine, like those of the West, if Eusebius is to be believed<sup>z</sup>, uniformly observed on the first day of the week. A. D. 307, the mean full moon, for the meridian of Cæsarea, would fall on April 4, about nine in the morning. It is manifestly possible that this might be Easter day; and it confirms the supposition of its being so, in this case, that April 4, A. D. 307, according to the Tables, was Friday, but as I should consider it was Sunday. On the same principle, the second of April or Xanthicus would be Friday; and this being the commencement of the Paschal Parasceue, or the fast of forty hours, among such churches as kept Easter day always on the first day of the week; it is not improbable that Eusebius, by a lapse of memory, confounded the day of the resurrection, or Easter Sunday, with the Parasceue; and so called the former April 2, instead of April 4. If this conjecture is not admitted, I know of no other mode of reconciling his date, with the days of the week, except to suppose that he wrote *Ξανθικοῦ δ'*. and not *Ξανθικοῦ β'*: the fourth of April, not the second. His numbers, as they stand in the text, both in this instance and in the last considered, are even more inconsistent with the Tables, than with our hypotheses.

Many other dates occur in the course of the same narratives; of which, though no day of the week is specified, it may be inferred from the context that

<sup>z</sup> E. H. v. 23: Jerome, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, xliii. iv. Pars iia. 114.



they did not fall on the more remarkable days of the week, as the Saturday or the Sunday; and yet, according to the Tables, would sometimes do so. Thus, De Martyribus, i. 319. *ad calcem*, A. D. 303. the 17th of Dius or November, a Wednesday: Ibid. vii. 328, C. A. D. 307. the 5th of Dius or November, a Wednesday: Ibid. viii. 330. A. B: 332. C. A. D. 308. the 25th of Panemus or July, a *Sunday*: ix. 333. D. the same year, the 13th of Dius or November, a *Saturday*: x. *ad principium*, the same year, the 14th of Apellæus or December, a Tuesday: 335. C. D. A. D. 309. the 11th of Audynæus or January, a Tuesday: xi. 336. D—337. B. xiii. *ad principium*, the same year, the 16th of Peritius or February, a Wednesday: 341. C. D. same year, the 5th of Dystrus or March, a *Saturday*, and the 7th of Dystrus or March, a Monday<sup>z</sup>.

I shall observe in conclusion, that Eusebius, according to the Acta in question<sup>a</sup>, places the issuing of the edict, which was the signal of the persecution, in the month Xanthicus or April; when the anniversary of our Lord's passion was at hand: but in its regular place in the Ecclesiastical History, he dates it in the month Dystrus or March, when the same festival was at hand<sup>b</sup>. Theodorit twice asserts that the churches were shut up on Easter day<sup>c</sup>. We may receive this statement implicitly; because it is supported by the testimony of Lactantius, which places the promulgation of such orders, as are described by Eusebius in both passages, partly on Feb. 23 or 24, partly within three or four weeks afterwards<sup>d</sup>: so that the last of them was probably issued in the third or fourth week in March.

A. D. 303. the moon was eclipsed March 19 about

<sup>z</sup> The persecution in Palestine, which supplies the above dates, is stated, 345. A. B. to have lasted eight years in all; Cf. 320. D. and 343. A: that is, from A. D. 303 to A. D. 311. <sup>a</sup> 318. B—C. <sup>b</sup> Lib. viii. 2. 294. A. <sup>c</sup> Ecclesiastica Historia, v. 39. 248. B: and Operum iv. 932. Græcorum Affectuum Curatio, Disputatio ix. <sup>d</sup> Capp. 12—15.

midnight, for the meridian of Palestine; and this might be the Paschal full moon. March 19 too, that year, according to the Tables, was Friday, and, as I reckon it, might be Sunday. There can be no doubt, then, that the imperial edicts were issued when Easter was at hand; and if they were issued on March 19, or at the latest on March 26, they might be issued on Easter Sunday itself\*. The next full moon would fall upon April 17. And when Eusebius spoke of Xanthicus, A. D. 303, and of Easter being at hand, he seems to have thought that Easter fell about April 17; which the Tables exhibit on the Saturday. It may account for the confusion between the two dates, under which he appears to have laboured, that Easter in either case fell almost as early or as late as possible†.

\* Jerome, in Chronico, ad annum Diocletiani xix. has the following statement: Decimo nono anno Diocletiani mense Martio, in diebus Paschæ, ecclesiæ subversæ sunt. secundum Antiochenos annus cccli. Diocletiani xix. and Æræ Antiochenæ 351, would both expire, *auctumno ineunte*, A. D. 303, U. C. 1056. It thus appears that Easter, A. D. 303, was actually celebrated in March, not in April.

† Supposing April 5 in the Julian year, A. D. 30, our assumed date of the Passion, actually to have coincided with the sixth day of the week or Friday; February 24 on the same prin-

ciple, coincided with the first day of the week or Sunday. Consequently, A. D. 33, the first year after leap year, February 24 coincided with Thursday. And supposing the usual mode of reckoning in the Julian year to have gone on, through all parts of the Roman empire, from A. D. 33 to A. D. 164 uninterruptedly—if February 24, according to that mode of reckoning, A. D. 33, coincided with Thursday, with what day of the week would it coincide, according to the same mode of reckoning, A. D. 164, the year when Polycarp suffered?

From A. D. 33—A. D. 164, the interval is 131.

100 Julian years=36525 days and nights.

30 = 10957  
1 = 365

12 hours.  
6

131 Julian years=47847

18

This number of days = 6835 weeks, 2 days, 18 hours, over. These eighteen hours must be

left out of the account, A. D. 164. Hence, if A. D. 33, the Julian February 24 fell on the

Thursday, A. D. 164, the Julian February 24, would fall two days in advance of Thursday; and that would be actually on the Saturday.

|                  |                          |           |
|------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| 200 Julian years | = 73050 days and nights. |           |
| 10               | = 3652                   | 12 hours. |
| 5                | = 1826                   | 6         |
| <hr/>            |                          | <hr/>     |
| 215 Julian years | = 78528                  | 18        |

that is, 11218 weeks, 2 days, 18 hours: consequently February 24, A. D. 248, would fall two days in advance of February 24, A. D. 33: that is, on the Saturday, as it had done, A. D. 164.

Again, if April 5 in the Julian year, A. D. 30, fell upon

Were the same question to be demanded of February 24, A. D. 248, in the year of the martyrdom of Pionius: then, the interval being 215 years,

Friday, so did June 7, A. D. 30: and A. D. 32 the next leap year it fell upon Monday: and if June 7 in the Julian year, A. D. 32, fell upon Monday, when would June 7, according to the same mode of reckoning, fall, A. D. 303?

The interval is 271 years.

|                  |                          |           |
|------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| 200 Julian years | = 73050 days and nights. |           |
| 70               | = 25567                  | 12 hours. |
| 1                | = 365                    | 6         |
| <hr/>            |                          | <hr/>     |
| 271              | = 98982                  | 18        |

that is, 14140 weeks, 2 days, 18 hours. Consequently June 7, A. D. 303, would fall two days in advance of June 7, A. D. 32: that is, June 7, A. D. 32, having fallen on Monday, June 7, A. D. 303, would fall on Wednesday.

It is unnecessary to verify any more of Eusebius' dates by the same method; because A. D. 303, June 7 being Wednesday, November 20 was Monday; in which case, November 20, A. D. 306, according to the Julian year, could not fail to be a Friday; as Eusebius says it was.

In like manner, if we read May 2, A. D. 305, for April 2; when

June 7, A. D. 303, was a Wednesday, May 2 the same year was a Tuesday: and therefore May 2, A. D. 305, would be Friday; which Eusebius, as his text stands at present, asserts of April 2 that year.

Again, April 4, A. D. 303, would fall on a Tuesday, if June 7 fell on a Wednesday; and therefore A. D. 307 it would fall on a Sunday: and this was the day of the week, and probably that of the month, which we shewed Eusebius to have meant for Easter day in that year.

## APPENDIX.

### SUPPLEMENT I. TO DISSERTATION XXVII.

*On the observance of Easter before the Council of Nice.*

Vide supra, Dissertation xxvii. Appendix, page 623–626.

AMONG the causes which gave occasion to the council of Nice, one was the difference still prevailing in the time of celebrating Easter, especially among the churches of the East, some of them following one rule, others another; while the churches of the West observed one and the same <sup>a</sup>.

In Constantine's circular letter to the churches of the East, on this subject<sup>b</sup>, he reproaches the Jews with keeping two passovers in the course of one and the same year\*. It is well observed by Valesius, *in loco*, that

\* I know not, whether, in making this allusion, the emperor had his eye on the Constitutiones Apostolicæ; but there also, lib. v. xvii. PP. Apostolici, 258. A. B. the same reproach is virtually urged against them. The Christians at least are exhorted, τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ πάσχα ἀκριβῶς ποιεῖσθαι μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας, μετὰ τροπὴν ἡμερίνην· ὅπως μὴ δις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνὸς παθήματος μνεῖαν ποιῆσθε, ἀλλὰ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους τοῦ ἅπαξ ἀποθανόντος· μηκέτι δὲ

παρατηρούμενοι μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἑορτάζειν· οὐδεμία γὰρ κοινωνία ἡμῖν νῦν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, κ', τ. λ. Cf. also C. The same passage of the Constitutiones fixes the date of the vernal equinox, like Anatolius, to the 22d of Dystrus; and the celebration of Easter from the 14th to the 21st moon, after that date; agreeably to the rule afterwards established by the council of Nice, substituting only the 21st of Dystrus, or March, for the 22d. This co-

<sup>a</sup> Vide Eusebius, Vita Constantini, iii. v. 485: xiv. 490: xviii. 492: xix. 493: xx. 494: iv. xxxiv. 542: xxxv. 543: Socrates, E. H. i. viii. 18. D: ix. 29. B. C: 33. A—35. B: iv. xxviii. 245. A—246. D: v. xxii. 282. D—285. D: Sozomen, E. H. i. xvi. 429. B—D: xxi. 436. C: Theodorit, E. H. i. vi. 31. D: x. 33. A—35. B: Epiphanius, Adversus Hæreses, i. 820. seqq. Audiani, ix. et sqq.

<sup>b</sup> Eusebius, Vita, iii. xviii. 492, 493: Socrates, i. ix. 33. A—D: Theodorit, i. x. 33. D.



if this reproach was meant of the observance of two passovers in the course of one and the same *current* year, it would sometimes, though not always, be just as applicable to the practice of the Christians, as to that of the Jews. For suppose Easter to have been celebrated in one year, at the latest of its two extremes, as fixed by the council of Nice; it is manifest that it would be celebrated in the next, within the same *current* year as before, not more than fifteen days before the latest of the extremes in question\*. It can hardly be supposed that the emperor could be ignorant of this fact; especially after the council of Nice had fixed the celebration of Easter, to any time between two immoveable dates, March 22 and April 25. The reproach in question must have been understood to apply, in some peculiar manner, to the practice of the Jews of the time; and that would be the case, if it was known that their rule in the ob-

incidence between the Constitutiones Apostolicæ and the Canon of Anatolius, might lead to a conjecture, that the date of the Constitutiones is later than that of the Canon, consequently than A. D. 277. I apprehend that there is no proof of the existence of these Constitutiones before the end of the third century, or even later. The first author to recognise their existence (and then only as an apocryphal, though perhaps well meant production) would be Eusebius, even if the λεγόμεναι Ἀποστόλων διδασκαί, specified by him, E. H. iii. 25. 97. C: be understood of the Constitutiones Apostolicæ; the proper title of which, however, is τάξεις or διαταγαί, or as Damascenus calls them, De Orthodoxa Fide, cap. 94. κανόνες—not διδασκαί, in Greek. Yet from the circum-

stance of their fixing the vernal equinox to the 22d of March, not to the 21st, and for other reasons which might be mentioned, we may presume the publication of these Constitutiones was more ancient than the council of Nice.

See Epiphanius, likewise, i. 421. C. D. Tessarescædecatis, iii. and 824. A. B. Audiani, xi; where the same objection is urged of celebrating two passovers in one year.

The Apostolical Constitutions are quoted by him, under the name of διάταξις, Operum i. §90. A. Severiani, ii: 822. Audiani, x—824. xii: 910. Aërii, vi.

\* If April 25 is Easter Sunday, the fourteenth of the moon must fall on April 18, Sunday also: and April 18 being Sunday, April 7 is Wednesday. Now the full of the moon falling one year

servance of the passover, at this time, was always to keep it *before*, and never *after* the vernal equinox. The natural or tropical year, as Epiphanius argues<sup>c</sup>, is bounded by the equinoctial point, or the date of the ingress of the sun into the vernal quarter : *πρὸ γὰρ ἰσημερίας, οὐ πληρωθήσεται τὸ ἔτος, οὔτε (lege οὐδὲ) πληροῦται τοῦ κύκλου (lege τῷ κύκλῳ οἷ τὸν κύκλον) τοῦ δρόμου, ἐκ Θεοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τεταγμένου, ὁ ἐνιαυτός, ἐὰν μὴ παρέλθῃ ἰσημερία.* On this principle, the Jews might well be reproached with the practical absurdity of celebrating the same feast of the passover twice in the same year, because twice in the same natural year; as would invariably be the case, supposing that year to be terminated *by* the vernal equinox, on the one hand, and the passover always to be commemorated within certain extremes, as February 17 and March 18, *before* the vernal equinox, on the other. On the same principle, the observation of Anatolius, that the Paschal month, as so determined, was the last of the months in the natural year, not the first, would be strictly applicable likewise.

The epistle of Ambrose to the bishops of Æmilia, the date of which the Benedictine editors suppose to have been A. D. 386, only sixty-one years later than the council of Nice, bears testimony to the fact, that in a given instance, if not as a general rule, the Jews would celebrate their passover before the vernal equinox, while the Christians would celebrate their Easter after it. Operum ii. 884. D. E. Epistola xxiii. §. 15 : Denique futurum Judæi duodecimo, non primo mense celebraturi sunt pascha, hoc est, decimo tertio kalen-

on the 18th, the next year will fall on the 7th; and the 7th being Thursday, the 10th is Sunday; and the paschal moon falling on

Thursday or the 7th, Easter day will be the tenth; and the tenth is just fifteen days before the twenty-fifth.

<sup>c</sup> Adversus Hæreses, i. 824. A. B. Audiani, xi.

das Aprilis (March 20.) secundum nos : secundum Ægyptios autem vigesimo quarto die Phamenoth mensis (also March 20.) qui est non primus mensis, sed duodecimus; primus enim mensis apud Ægyptios dicitur Pharmuthi, et incipit sexto kalendas Aprilis (March 27.) et finitur septimo kalendas Maii. (April 25.) The context of this passage proves that by the twelfth and the first months, here alluded to, Ambrose means the last and the first of that year, which he elsewhere calls the Solstitial. Solstitialis quoque annus est, cum sol expleto per omnia signa circuitu, in id, unde principium cursus sui sumsit recurrit<sup>d</sup>. The year, in short, with reference to which the first month, according to the Jews, was called Abib, or mensis Novorum\*. This testimony of Ambrose, therefore, is so far in unison with that of Anatolius and of Constantine, as to place it beyond a question, that in a given instance, A. D. 387, the passover of the Jews would be celebrated *before* the vernal equinox, while that of the Christians would be celebrated *after* it†.

\* For the same reason, in the passage of the Constitutiones Apostolicæ, quoted above, v. xvii. Patres Apostolici, 258. C. the vernal equinox is said to take place on the 22d of the *twelfth* month; ὅς ἐστι Δύστρος. Dystrus could not be the twelfth month, in any year, but the natural or tropical one. In the Roman year, if it answered to March, it would be the third; and in the Syro-Macedonian it would be the sixth. In the Jewish or sacred year only could it occupy the place of the twelfth; answering to Adar in that year, as Xanthicus did to Abib or Nisan. And in the Jewish or sacred year, as bearing date from Abib or Nisan, the order of the months was properly

that of the seasons, or of the months in the natural year.

† And though the above testimony may leave it in doubt, whether the Jews would always be celebrating their passover in the twelfth month, or only in that particular year; a work is mentioned by Photius, Bibliotheca, 91. Codex 115—the author of which, though not known by name to him, was probably as ancient as Ambrose, if not more so; the title whereof was this: Λόγος πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων αἰρετικούς, καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους τεσσαρεσκαίδεκά-τίτας, μὴ τῷ πρώτῳ, καθ' Ἑβραίους, μηνὶ ἐπιτελούντας τοῦ ἁγίου πάσχα τὴν ἑορτήν. It may be fairly inferred from these words, that

<sup>d</sup> Operum i. 74. A. Hexaëmeron, iv. v. §. 24.

Not long after the date of this epistle of Ambrose, the schism among the Novatians, arising out of this very question of the observance of Easter according or contrary to the existing practice of the Jews, led to the Novatian council of Sangarius in Bithynia, about A. D. 391—which passed the canon called *Ἀδιάφορος*, as declaring it matter of indifference according to what rule Easter might be kept. After recapitulating the particulars of the Paschal controversy from the earliest times, Socrates observes<sup>e</sup>: *πλείστοι γὰρ περὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀσίαν ἐξ ἀρχαίου τὴν τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτην ἐτήρησαν, τὴν τοῦ σαββάτου ὑπεριδόντες ἡμέραν*: and again, *ibid.* C. D: *τινὲς μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, κατὰ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀσίαν, τὴν τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτην παρετήρουν· τινὲς δὲ περὶ τὰ ἀνατολικά μέρη, τὸ σάββατον μὲν τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐτήρουν· διεφώνουν δὲ περὶ τὸν μῆνα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰουδαίοις, καίτοι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν μὴ σῶζουσι, δεῖν ἔπεσθαι περὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἔλεγον· οἱ δὲ μετ' ἰσημερίαν ἐπετέλουν, τὸ συνεορτάζειν Ἰουδαίοις ἐκτρεπόμενοι· φάσκοντες αἰὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐν κριῶ ὄντος καθήκειν τὸ πάσχα ἐπιτελεῖν, τῷ Ξανθικῷ μὲν κατὰ Ἀντιοχείας μηνί, Ἀπριλλίῳ δὲ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους. καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, πειθομένους μὴ τοῖς νῦν κατὰ πάντα πεπλανημένοις Ἰουδαίοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, καὶ Ἰωσήφ, καθὰ ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας φησίν.*

It is plainly to be collected from this passage, that the rule observed by the Jews of this time was directly the reverse of that which had been observed by the

as the rule of the church was to celebrate Easter in the first month, according to the Hebrews, so that of the Jews, and of such Christians as held with them, was not to celebrate their passover in the first; and therefore, we may presume, in the

last month according to the same computation. The one was as regular a practice as the other. And as the first month would always be after the equinox, so the last would always be before it.

<sup>e</sup> E. H. v. 22. 284. A.



Jews of old; and therefore if the latter invariably celebrated their passover after the vernal equinox, (of which fact see the necessary proofs, Dissertation vii. vol. i. 316—319, 327—329,) the former must now have regularly celebrated theirs before it. It is plainly to be inferred too, that those Christians, who did not wish to be keeping the feast along with, that is, at the same time with the Jews, kept their Easter *after* the equinox, because the Jews kept their passover *before* it. Nor is it easy to conceive in what way the usage of those Christians, who agreed with the rest in observing what Socrates calls the *σάββατον τῆς ἑορτῆς*, but differed from them with respect to the month, admits of explanation, unless by supposing one entire lunation at least, between the Easter or Passover of the one, and the Easter or Passover of the other. Consequently, if the one was a certain time *after* the vernal equinox, the other was a corresponding time *before* it. It cannot be a civil or calendar month of which Socrates is speaking. It must be a natural one, as before or after the end of one natural year and the beginning of another; and consequently as the first or the last in the true order and succession of the months of the year. Confer the end of the same chapter, 290, 291, where the same remark is repeated of a difference in the month, as well as a difference in the week—and the like.

As to the *σάββατον τῆς ἑορτῆς*, which some of those above described professed to observe, and others not; it may best be understood to mean the day which we have already had occasion to consider under the name of the Sabbatum Magnum: that is, supposing the day of the resurrection always fixed to the first day of the week, the seventh day or sabbath, immediately preceding that; Saturday in passion week. The distinc-

tion which Socrates would draw, in the present instance, between the two classes of *Quartodecimani* in question, if I understand him right, is this; that the one agreed with the Jews not only in the month, but also in the day; the others agreed with them in the month, but differed from them in the day. Both parties kept their Easter, as the Jews did their passover, in the last month of the natural year, the month before the equinox; but the one on the same day on which the Jews kept their passover, whether that was the seventh day of the week, or not, the other always on the seventh day in particular. The former therefore could not generally observe any *σάββατον τῆς ἑορτῆς*, like the rest of the church; but the latter would.

Often as the practice of the Jews of the time, in the celebration of their passover, is alluded to, as opposed to that of the church in the celebration of Easter, the point of the allusion always turns upon the circumstance, that the rule of the Jews was to keep the passover *before* the equinox, as that of the church was to celebrate Easter *after* it. See Epiphanius, and the Paschal Homilies ascribed to Chrysostom, *passim*. It is scarcely to be supposed that rules so well defined, yet so distinct from each other, could ever be confounded; or considered capable of being so: that the passover, under such circumstances, could possibly be celebrated *after* the equinox, any more than Easter *before* it. The Samaritans of the same time, according to Socrates §, kept their passover invariably *after* the equinox; and that is some argument that the Jews, their contemporaries, always kept theirs *before* it. It is well known that the rule of the Samaritans in almost all respects, where there was room for a dif-

§ E. H. *Libro citato*, 289. D.

ference of practice, was opposed to that of the Jews\*. And hence we may hesitate to receive the observation of Theodorit, subjoined to the synodical or Circular Epistle of the bishops of the council of Nice to the Melitiani in Egypt<sup>b</sup>; as though the Samaritans in this respect agreed with the Jews, and the followers of Melitius, still remaining in Egypt in Theodorit's time, in certain rites and usages, including, as we may presume, this of the celebration of Easter, while they differed from the rest of the church, agreed with both.

Sozomen's account of these particulars, relating to the schism of the Novatians, is to the same effect with that of Socrates<sup>i</sup>. He tells us that Sabbatius, the Novatian presbyter, whose practice in this respect had differed from that of the rest of his sect, even after his apparent conformity to the decision of the council, still continued to keep the feast *with the Jews*; and except when all, as might sometimes be the case, were keeping it at the same time, to anticipate it in comparison of the rest. In this case, it must often have happened, that he had celebrated his Easter, as the Jews had done their passover, before the equinox, while the rest of the Novatians were celebrating theirs after it. He concludes by expressing his surprise that Sabbatius and his followers should ever have been induced to borrow a practice from the Jews of their own time, which the testimony of Philo, Josephus, Aristobulus, and other ancient Jewish writers, shewed to be so contrary to the custom of the Jews of former times. And this must imply that the Jews of Sabbatius' time kept their

\* See in particular, what Epiphanius records of the Sebuæi, a Samaritan *αἰρεσις* or sect; of whom it was the distinguishing peculiarity that they inverted

the order of the Jewish feasts, celebrating the passover in Tisri, the Pentecost *auctumno exeunte*, and the Scenopogia in Nisan: Operum i. 29. C. D.

<sup>b</sup> E. H. i. 9. 32. B.

<sup>i</sup> E. H. vii. 18. 731. A—733. D.

passover before the equinox; or else their practice could not have been so contrary to the rule of the Jews of former times; who always celebrated the passover after it, ἡλίου τὸ πρῶτον δωδεκατημόριον τμήμα ὀδεύοντος, ὁ κριὸν Ἕλληνες ὀνομάζουσιν· ἐν διαμέτρῳ δὲ τῆς σελήνης τεσσαρεσκαδεκαταίας τὴν πορείαν ποιουμένης. He adds<sup>k</sup> that the Samaritans, even of his own day, still made a point of never celebrating the passover until the new corn was ripe; in which case, as he well observes, they could never celebrate it before the equinox, for the new corn is never ripe before the equinox, though it may be soon after. In this statement, then, he virtually agrees with Socrates; and both will imply that the Samaritans, by way of distinction, keeping their passover after the equinox, the Jews kept theirs before it. He tells us also<sup>l</sup>, that, among the sects of his time, the *Quartodecimans* kept their Easter on the fourteenth of the moon, altogether like the Jews: the Novatians, even those who followed the Jews, kept it on the first day of the week, in commemoration of the resurrection; and therefore differed occasionally so far from the Jews, that if the fourteenth of the moon did not fall on the first day of the week, they kept their Easter on the first day of the moon after it, which did. The Montanistæ, Pepuzitæ, or Cataphrygians\*, on the other hand, observed a rule peculiar to themselves; reckoning the months by the solar, not the lunar motions, and allowing thirty days to each, and dating the

\* A sect still in existence. See the Extract from Athanasius' *Epistola ad Familiares*, apud Socratem, E. H. ii. 37. 135. D. in reference to the council of Ariminum, A. D. 359. Cf.

Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iii. 64. 520. and at a still later period, Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, xi. 34. C. D. and the Paschal Homilies ascribed to Chrysostom.

<sup>k</sup> *Loco citato*, 732. D.

<sup>l</sup> *Ibid.* 733. A. et sqq.



first month with their assumed date of the vernal equinox,  $\pi\rho\acute{o}$  ἐννέα καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων, March 24<sup>1</sup>. The fourteenth of the first month, on this principle, coincided with  $\pi\rho\acute{o}$  ὀκτῶ εἰδῶν Ἀπριλλίων, April 6; on which day, if it fell on the Sunday, they kept their Easter. If not, they kept it on any day between the 14th and the 21st, which happened to fall on the first day of the week.

The usages of these several sects, the *Quartodecimani*, the Novatians, the Montanists, are alluded to also, and specified in contradistinction to the practice of the church, by the author of the Seventh Paschal Homily ascribed to Chrysostom<sup>m</sup>, to which we have already referred. The author of this homily was later than Socrates and Sozomen; and therefore his testimony is not so much to our present purpose as theirs. Yet if we had time to consider his account more particularly, it would appear that it agrees in the main with theirs. Still it must be admitted that his description of the rule of the Jews<sup>n</sup>, would seem to imply that they did not invariably keep their passover before the equinox; but sometimes before, sometimes after, according as they had intercalated a month in their year or not. Nothing that he says, however, would lead to the inference that the Jews ever sought to keep it after the equinox, *ex professo*: in which case, their keeping it sometimes, if ever, after the equinox, might be the effect of accident, and probably in no case more than a day or two later than that date; an excess which might easily be produced, and accounted for, in various ways, and particularly by different modes of computing the vernal equinox, or fixing the point of the ingress of the sun into the vernal quarter. It is manifest,

<sup>1</sup> That is, supposing this reading be correct. See on this subject the note, *supra*, page 615. <sup>m</sup> Operum vii. *Spuria*, 276. B—E. in Pascha Homilia vii. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. 276. B. 277. C. D.

under any circumstances, that for the Jews to be observing their passover as the church did its Easter, after the equinox, not before it, was the exception to their general rule. Nor, indeed, does it seem possible that they could ever have made a practice of keeping the passover before the equinox, and not have made a practice of it generally. They must have had some rule, and that rule a fixed and definite one, or at least liable to fluctuate only within certain limits, either always before or always after the equinox. This rule would naturally be fixed not so much out of regard to the equinox, *per se*, as to the first month in the sacred year, and the proper limits within which that should fall. The time of the year, to which this month was fixed, was determined originally by the Exodus; and as that happened in the spring, about the equinox, any month in the spring, and about the equinox, might seem entitled to be considered and called the first month in their sacred year. The practice of the Jews of antiquity had been so to fix the limits of their paschal month that the equinox should fall about the beginning of it; and the practice of the Jews of these times might be so to fix it, that the equinox should fall about the end; for though the latest of their paschal terms had been fixed to March 19, at this time, instead of April 16 as in former times, even that would comprehend, according to Anatolius, the ingress of the sun into the vernal quarter.

At the very time when the author of this Homily was writing, he tells us<sup>o</sup>, that the Jews were celebrating their passover before the equinox; though the church, as we have seen from his testimony, would not celebrate its Easter till the second of the eighth month.

<sup>o</sup> *Loco citato*, 277. D.

long after it. This, then, is another case in point to illustrate the rule and practice of the Jews, for the time being, as opposed to those of the church. The use of the Octaëteric cycle, for the purpose of intercalation, was undoubtedly of great antiquity among the Jews<sup>p</sup>. But the use of this cycle proves nothing upon the point in dispute: for it would be necessary, under any circumstances, to accommodate a lunar to a solar year, without regard to the question at what time of the latter in particular, whether before the equinox or after, the passover should be celebrated. But my limits do not permit me to enter upon every question which might be suggested upon this subject: and for the same reason, I must pass over the testimony of Epiphanius, who has much to say in reference to it<sup>q</sup>: too long and intricate to be particularly examined at present.

One thing is certain; that upon this question of the observance of the passover, between the rule and the practice of the Jews, before and at the time of the Passion, and those of their descendants in later times, there must have been a wide difference. It is scarcely possible that so great and general a change, in a long recognised and long established national rule, could have been the effect of accident. It is more probable it was the effect of design. And the design may be accounted for, if we suppose that the rule for the observance of Easter by the primo-primitive church, at least in Judæa, and the neighbouring parts of the East, was altogether the same, (as indeed we have every reason to presume it was,) with the rule observed by

<sup>p</sup> See the *Liber Enoch*, chapter lxxiii. 13—16: Julius Africanus, apud *Reliquias Sacras*, ii. 188. l. 12: Epiphanius, i. 448. D. *Alogi* xxvi: 825, 826, Audiani, xiii: Suidas, in *Ἐνιαυτός*; and Sozomen, vii. xviii. 733. C. D. <sup>q</sup> *Adversus Hæreses*, i. 419—422. *Tessarescædecatiæ*: 448, 449. *Alogi*, xxvi: and 820—826. Audiani, ix—xiii.

the Jews in the celebration of their passover, before and at the Passion. A desire on the part of the Jews to separate themselves as widely as possible from the Nazarenes or Christians, particularly in so important and distinctive a circumstance as the celebration of the passover of the nation, might induce them to alter *in toto* the rule for its observance handed down from their forefathers; which, after all, was more traditionary than written—and provided their first month was still fixed to the spring season of the year, to call that the first, which before had ranked as the twelfth; and so to keep their passover accordingly. There is no proof, indeed, that any such change had yet taken place within the period of time embraced by the Acts of the Apostles, or even by the lifetime of St. Paul or St. Peter. But it may have taken place soon after the destruction of Jerusalem; or soon after the termination of the lifetime of St. John. A change of this kind in the Jewish rule of observing the passover, if once introduced, and from whatever motive, and whether all at once, or by degrees, might bring about a corresponding change in some instances, in the Christian rule of the observance of Easter, where that was previously conformed to the Jewish. Such was eminently the case at Smyrna—the church of which from time immemorial had been accustomed to keep its Easter with the Jews: and might continue to do so, in conformity to its ancient practice, even when that rule began to be changed; especially if the change was only gradually introduced.



## APPENDIX.

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### SUPPLEMENT II. TO DISSERTATION XXVII.

*On the time of the celebration of the last Passover. And on the correction of the calendar by the council of Nice.*

INTERESTING as those topics, which constituted the subject of discussion in the twenty-seventh Dissertation, might be in themselves, the reader should, however, be apprised that they were not considered so much on their own account, as because of their connection with another question, the determination of which is of cardinal importance to the gospel chronology; the true day of the month, and the true day of the week, in the Julian year, on which the Passion of our blessed Saviour took place.

If the year of our Saviour's Passion was truly the sixteenth of Tiberius, U.C. 783, A.D. 30, the fourteenth of Nisan in that year coincided with the fifth of the Julian April; and, consequently, the Jewish passover ought to have been kept on that day, and that day only. The mean full moon fell out in that year on the sixth of April, at 9.32. in the morning for the meridian of Paris, and 11.44. for the meridian of Jerusalem; and even the actual full moon could not have been many hours later than the mean. According then to the rule laid down in the ninth Dissertation, vol. i. p. 325, the passover would necessarily be celebrated the day before; viz. on April 5: and the only point, upon which any uncertainty could

still remain, would concern the day of the week with which April 5 coincided.

Now it is an unquestionable fact that our Saviour suffered on the sixth day of the week ; that is, upon the Friday ; and if he suffered also on the passover-day, which, upon every principle, is infinitely more probable than the contrary, the passover-day coincided with the Friday. So persuaded have commentators been of this truth, that, whatever year may have been proposed as the year of the Passion, it has been uniformly some one distinguished, or conceived to be distinguished, by this coincidence ; though it has not unfrequently happened that what was assumed to be the day of the Jewish passover, was, in reality, the day after it.

Considering then the acknowledged necessity of fixing the day of the crucifixion to the sixth day of the week, and the presumptive necessity of fixing it also to the day of the passover, we might justly contend that, as no scheme of gospel chronology could be fundamentally correct which did not exemplify both these coincidences, so any scheme would possess a strong *a priori* claim to reception, according to which the ordinary day of the Jewish passover—the day of the Dominical Passion—and the sixth day of the week, should all be seen to have synchronized and fallen out together.

It is very true, that the tables of the solar cycle, to which we have had frequent occasion to refer, shew the fifth of April, A. D. 30, to coincide with Wednesday. But I have endeavoured to prove, by a multitude of cases in point, that these tables are liable to an error of *defect*, amounting to *two* days exactly ; and this being admitted, the fifth of April, A. D. 30, instead of

falling upon the Wednesday, would actually fall upon the Friday.

It is admitted that some of these solar cycles, which have been constructed, are liable to vary from others, sometimes by one day, and sometimes even by two ; so that it is evidently a possible case that they may *all* vary more or less from the truth. But without insisting upon the possibility of their varying from the truth, in consequence of their being found to differ from each other ; it will be much the most satisfactory way of proceeding to endeavour to point out a source of error, in the application of these tables, which was very likely to be overlooked, and yet would infallibly lead to erroneous results, if it were not expressly guarded against.

The use of the solar cycle is first and properly to shew the Dominical or Sunday letter, for each successive year in a period of 28 Julian years, reckoned either backwards or forwards from a given date in the Julian year ; and as dependent upon that, the coincidence of the Julian days of the month with the corresponding days of the week, for the same period of time, also. The application of this cycle supposes, consequently, that the computation of time in the Julian year goes on uninterruptedly for each of the periods in question ; in which case, but in which only, the order of the Dominical letters will be regular and uninterrupted. If this is not the case, the order of the Sunday letter will be broken ; and without some correction to compensate for the interruption, the application of the solar cycle to determine the Dominical letter will infallibly lead to erroneous results.

In the application of the solar cycle, then, to discover the coincidences between given days of the

month in the Julian year, and the corresponding days of the week on which they must be supposed to have fallen; allowance is necessarily to be made for any such abrupt interruption in the reckoning of time by the Julian year, as would be the natural consequence of the correction of the calendar by pope Gregory, A. D. 1582, when the fifth of October was ordered to be called the fifteenth; or by act of parliament, A. D. 1751, in our own country, when the third of September was ordered to be reckoned as the fourteenth. Each of these corrections broke the order of the Dominical letter, and rendered it impossible for the solar cycle, as adapted to the Julian year before the correction, to shew the recurrence of the Sunday letter in the Gregorian year, or in the year which has been current in our own country since the parliamentary correction, A. D. 1751.

Both these corrections, it is true, are too remarkable and too notorious events, to be overlooked in the application of the solar cycle to its proper purpose, between our own time and the date of the council of Nice. But, in applying the same cycle to the same purpose for any year that goes beyond the time of the council of Nice, there is room for the possible introduction of an error into the results, if such a thing as a correction of the calendar, by the council of Nice, actually took place, A. D. 325: which yet from the little attention that has hitherto been drawn to the fact, is very liable to be overlooked, and consequently not to be taken into account.

That the Julian year, since the last correction of the calendar, corresponds in all respects to the same year, such as it was left by the first and original correction, B. C. 46, might very fairly be presumed on many accounts; or if there were any doubt about it, it would be



removed by the coincidence between the dates of such natural phænomena as eclipses of the sun or the moon, assigned by ancient contemporary historians in the Julian reckoning of their time, and the dates assigned to the same events by modern astronomers in the Julian reckoning of theirs. It would be possible to collect many instances of these coincidences between the time of Julius Cæsar and the date of the council of Nice; but the argument requires that we should confine ourselves to examples of this description, the nearest to the beginning of the Julian year; the dates of which happen to be on record. One or two of this description may be adduced; and even one well authenticated instance of the kind is as good as a thousand. Thus mention is made in Dio Cassius <sup>a</sup>, of an eclipse of the sun on the birthday of Claudius, (which is known to have been August 1,) U. C. 798: and Pingrè's Table shews an eclipse of the sun that very day, A. D. 45. In like manner Pliny <sup>b</sup> speaks of an eclipse of the sun, Pridie Calendas Maias, U. C. 812: and Pingrè's Table has a similar natural phænomenon, April 30, A. D. 59\*.

\* This actual correspondence of the Julian to the tropical year at present, as much as at first, is a point of considerable importance to the argument; and in addition to the facts which have been adduced in proof of it, it may be further confirmed as follows:

A. D. 30, let the Julian April 5 be supposed to have fallen on Friday, and April 6 on Saturday. From A. D. 30, to A. D. 1836, the interval is just 1806 years.

|                                     | d.      | h. | m. | s. |
|-------------------------------------|---------|----|----|----|
| Now 1000 tropical years of Newton = | 365,242 | 7  | 50 | 0  |
| 800 =                               | 292,193 | 20 | 40 | 0  |
| 6 =                                 | 2,191   | 10 | 53 | 42 |

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|        |         |    |    |    |
|--------|---------|----|----|----|
| 1806 = | 659,627 | 15 | 23 | 42 |
|--------|---------|----|----|----|

|                                                                               |   |   |  |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|--|----|
| Deduct for the excess of the Newtonian year above the standard of Delambre's, | } | 3 |  | 36 |
| 6 seconds annually.                                                           |   |   |  |    |

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|         |    |    |   |
|---------|----|----|---|
| 659,627 | 12 | 23 | 6 |
|---------|----|----|---|

<sup>a</sup> lx. 26.

<sup>b</sup> II. N. ii. 72. Cf. Dio, lxi. 16.

There can be no doubt, then, that since the correction of the calendar by pope Gregory, A. D. 1582, or

These = 94,232 weeks, three days, twelve hours, twenty-three minutes, six seconds.

Hence, if A. D. 30, the first *νυχθήμερον* of the first week began at 6 P. M. on Saturday April 6; A. D. 1836, three days and nights, twelve hours, twenty-three minutes, six seconds, of the 94,233rd week, would have elapsed at twenty-three minutes six seconds past six in the morning of April 6. That is, April 6, would be Wednesday, A. D. 1836, if April 6 was Saturday, A. D. 30. And every body must know that this was actually the case; April 2, in the last year 1836 having been Saturday, and April 6 Wednesday.

The reader will doubtless remember that having upon other grounds rendered it probable that April 3 in the tropical, or what was the same thing, April 5 in the Julian year, at the time of the Exodus, B. C. 1560, coincided with Nisan 10, and both with the seventh day of the week; we endeavoured still further to confirm this conclusion by shewing, that, supposing the succession of days and nights in the natural year to have begun A. M. 1. at six P. M. in the evening of the tropical April 22, or what was the same thing, the Julian April 24—the first *νυχθήμερον* of the 127, 522nd week would begin to bear date at 6 P. M. on April 17 in the tropical, or April 19 in the Julian year; and consequently the first *νυχθήμερον* of the 127, 519th, at 6 P. M. in the evening of Saturday

April 3 in the tropical, or April 5 in the Julian year. See Appendix, Dissertation xi. p. 469. He will also remember that, calculating upon the same principle, and from the same point of departure, and making allowance for the fact that two *νυχθήμερα* of computed time were to be comprehended in the ordinary or actual space of one, in some one, or some two of the weeks between the time of Joshua and that of Hezekiah; we arrived at the conclusion, that, the first *νυχθήμερον* of the first week bearing date from six P. M. on the Julian April 24, A. M. 1; the first *νυχθήμερον* of the 208, 710th week began to bear date at 6 P. M. on April 19, A. M. 4001. B. C. 4: and therefore the first *νυχθήμερον* of the 208, 708th week at the same time April 5, in the same year. That is, A. M. 4001. B. C. 4. the Julian April 5, coincided with Saturday, if A. M. 1. the Julian April 24 did the same. See Appendix, Dissertation xi. vol. iii. 469—475. And this coincidence is so far borne out by the event—that we know April 5 to have fallen on the Saturday, B. C. 4, just as certainly as to have fallen on Friday, A. D. 30. For if it fell on Friday, A. D. 30, it must have fallen on Saturday, B. C. 4: and that it did fall on Friday A. D. 30, has been shewn by such a variety of concurrent proofs that it does not seem possible to doubt it.

Let us apply the same mode of reasoning in an instance which

by our own parliament, A. D. 1751, a given date in the Julian year is as competent to represent the correspond-

will come immediately under our own observation; the date of the Julian April 24, A. D. 1836, which the Almanack will shew to have been Sunday.

A. D. 1836, answering to A. M. 5840: the interval between April 24, A. M. 1, and April 24, A. D. 1836, or A. M. 5840, is 5839 years exactly.

|                                   | d.          | h. | m. | s. |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|----|----|----|
| Now 5000 tropical years of Newton | = 1,826,211 | 15 | 10 | 0  |
| 800                               | = 292,193   | 20 | 40 | 0  |
| 30                                | = 10,957    | 6  | 28 | 30 |
| 9                                 | = 3,287     | 4  | 20 | 33 |
| 5839                              | = 2,132,649 | 22 | 39 | 3  |
| Deduct for excess over Delambre's |             | 9  | 43 | 54 |
|                                   | 2,132,649   | 12 | 55 | 9  |

= in weeks, to 304,664, one day, twelve hours, fifty-five minutes, nine seconds over.

Allowing for the miracles in the time of Joshua and Hezekiah, this excess becomes 12 hours, 55 minutes, 9 seconds and no more; that is, A. M. 5840, A. D. 1836. twelve hours, fifty-five minutes, nine seconds, of the first *νυχθήμερον* of the 2, 132, 650th week, dated from 6 P. M. Saturday, April 24, A. M. 1, had elapsed at fifty-five minutes, nine seconds, past six in the morning on April 24. On this principle April 24, A. D. 1836, must have been Sunday; as any body by turning to the Almanack may satisfy himself that it was.

I know not what my readers may be disposed to think of these calculations. For my own part, I cannot help regarding them as true, notwithstanding the assumption on which they proceed; which must be confessed to be hypothetical; viz. that A. M. 1. the first *νυχθήμερον* of nocturnal and diurnal time bore date from Saturday, April 24. They are obviously consist-

ent with each other, and with the fact already established on independent data, that April 5, A. D. 30, was Friday, and the fact of which our own observation is a sufficient voucher, that April 5, A. D. 1836, was Tuesday. Taken together, they must be abundantly sufficient to satisfy us that the dates of the Julian year in use at present are as near to the corresponding dates in the true solar or natural year, as they were at its first institution. In which case, the question naturally presents itself—How does this happen, if since the first institution of the Julian year, to the present day, a given date in that year must necessarily have gained fourteen days and an half at least upon the corresponding point of time in the tropical year? It can have happened only on one supposition; viz. that corrections have been applied from time to time to the Julian year, between its first institution and our own day; and corrections amounting to four-

ing point of time in the tropical year, as the same date in the Julian year immediately after its first institution. And this being the case, we may reason as follows :

Between B. C. 45 and A. D. 1836, the interval of time amounts to 1880 years : and supposing the Julian year to have gone on without interruption from B. C. 45 to A. D. 1836 ; then, at a rate of precession adapted to the standard of the natural year according to Delambre, and therefore amounting to eleven minutes, nine seconds annually, the anticipation of the Julian upon the natural year would have accumulated to fourteen days, thirteen hours, and twenty-two minutes, exactly ; or to what we may call fourteen days and an half, at least. It follows, then, that if the Julian year had gone on without any correction from its first institution to the present day ; a given date in the Julian year would have been fourteen days and an half in advance of the corresponding date in the tropical year.

Now let us see what has been done in the way of correction, since the first institution of the Julian year, to compensate for this anticipation, and to confine the Julian year within the same bounds still, by which it was comprehended in the time of its founder. First, there was the correction of the calendar by Gregory XIII. A. D. 1582, when the fifth of October was ordered to be called the fifteenth. Secondly, there was the

teen days at least in all. That corrections have been so applied is an historical fact ; but that the sum total of the corrections, of which history gives us any account, amounts only to twelve days, instead of to fourteen, is not less certain. There is yet a correction of two days to be accounted for ; which must have been introduced some time or other, between the first institu-

tion of the Julian year and our own day, or the effect of any such correction, (which at least we perceive to be a sensible matter of fact,) would not now be perceptible, as it is, in the relation at this moment holding good between a given date in the Julian year, and the corresponding point of time in the tropical.



alteration of the style, in our own country, A. D. 1751, when the third of September was by act of parliament ordered to be reckoned the fourteenth. Thirdly, there was the omission of the usual 29th of February, in leap year, A. D. 1800, which was virtually the same thing as calling the 28th of February for that year the 29th. These various corrections taken together amount to the omission of twelve days in the Julian year all at once; and the consequence of that omission has been to reduce the sum total of the anticipation of the Julian year upon the tropical, for the period of time between its first institution and the present day, by twelve days in all. But the sum total of this anticipation, for the interval of time in question, amounts to fourteen days and an half. What then has become of the remaining two days and an half? And if these have never been struck off from the amount of the anticipation, as well as the rest—how comes it to pass that a given date in the Julian year, at the present moment, is not two days at least in advance of the true relative place of the same date in the natural year, B. C. 45?

It seems to me that there is no answering this question, except by admitting the fact of some further correction of the calendar, distinct from any of those last mentioned, and amounting to just two days. And some further correction not only distinct from but anterior to any of the rest: and if so, a correction which must have been made either at, or before the time of the council of Nice. For the correction of the calendar by pope Gregory did no more than compensate for the amount of the anticipation between the time of the council of Nice, and his own: the correction by our own parliament, supposing that to amount to one day, did no more than compensate for the anticipation between

the time of pope Gregory and A. D. 1751: and the omission of the 29th of February, A. D. 1800, has done no more than account for the quantum of anticipation between A. D. 1700—when it was last omitted in the Gregorian year—and A. D. 1800. An anticipation has been going on, since A. D. 1800, to our own time, it is true; and an anticipation amounting to six hours, forty-one minutes, and twenty-four seconds. But supposing even this deducted from the two days and an half in question; there is still an excess of more than two days which remains to be accounted for, before we can satisfactorily explain the present relative equality of the Julian to the natural year, as much as at its first institution, consistently with the fact of a necessary and constant anticipation of the one upon the other, which must have been going on from the day of its first institution, to this.

It is, therefore, a curious question, which it might naturally be supposed would have been agitated sooner, when and how that correction of the calendar was made, which compensated for this remaining difference. I am entirely of opinion, it was the act of the council of Nice: and it strengthens this presumption, that the excess which we have to account for, viz. two days and upwards, is nearly the exact amount of the anticipation between B. C. 45, the first Julian year, and A. D. 325, the date of the council. In 369 years, between B. C. 45, and A. D. 325, the anticipation would amount to two days, twenty hours, thirty-four minutes, twenty-one seconds; out of which we have yet to account for two days, thirteen hours, fifty-two minutes, fifty-seven seconds, (the difference between two days, twenty hours, thirty-four minutes, twenty-one seconds, and six hours, forty-one minutes, twenty-four seconds,) from that time to this. If the council

of Nice struck two days out of the common reckoning of time, A. D. 325, we account for this difference at once, and in a very satisfactory way: which otherwise seems inexplicable. And novel as the assumption may appear, that the council actually did this, it is not so destitute of support from external evidence, but that it may be strongly confirmed as follows.

We have already had occasion to observe that, among the other subjects which engaged the attention of the council, one was the Paschal controversy. Notwithstanding the celebrity of the council, considerable obscurity hangs over its proceedings, and over no part of them more than what relates to this subject. Yet that it occupied a principal share of their attention, and that they took the requisite care and pains to arrive at a satisfactory decision upon it, may be inferred not only from the uniformity of the rule for the celebration of Easter, which began to be observed from the date of the council, and has continued to be observed ever since, but also from the following testimony, which occurs incidentally in the Epistle of Ambrose to the bishops of Æmilia, referred to above.

*Operum ii. 880. E. Epistola xxiii:* Non mediocris esse sapientiæ, observes he, diem celebritatis definire paschalis et Scriptura Divina nos instruit, et traditio majorum: qui convenientes ad synodum Nicænam, inter illa fidei, ut vera, ita admiranda decreta, etiam super celebritate memorata, congregatis peritissimis calculandi, decem et novem annorum collegere rationem, et quasi quemdam constituere circulum, ex quo exemplum in annos reliquos gigneretur. hunc circulum enneadecaterida nuncuparunt, &c.

Again, *ibid. 885. A. B. §. 16:* Unde et majores nostri in tractatu concilii Nicæni, eundem enneadecateridem, si quis diligenter intendat, statuendum putarunt,

et ipsum mensem novorum recte custodierunt; quia in Ægypto hoc primo mense nova secantur frumenta: hic autem mensis et primus est secundum Ægyptiorum proventus, et primus secundum Legem, et octavus secundum consuetudinem nostram; indictio enim Septembri mense incipit. octavo igitur mense kalendæ Aprilis sunt: incipit autem mensis non secundum vulgarem usum, sed secundum consuetudinem peritorum ab æquinocio, qui dies est duodecimo kalendas Aprilis (March 21.) et finitur undecimo kalendas Maii (April 21.) inde maxime intra hos triginta et unum dies sæpe celebrati paschæ dies.

The month of which Ambrose is speaking in these last observations, as beginning and ending not according to the common mode of reckoning, but to a principle of its own, is of course the paschal month, as bounded by two extremes, the date of the vernal equinox, on the one hand, and the thirty-first day after it, on the other. This testimony is very direct to the point, not only that the subject of the celebration of Easter was taken into consideration by the council, but also that a cycle of nineteen years, expressly designed to put a stop to irregularity with respect to its observance for the future, was constructed and published by its authority\*.

\* Eusebius, as we learn from Jerome, iv. pars ii<sup>a</sup>. 117, 118, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, lxi. constructed a paschal cycle of nineteen years also: the idea of which he is said to have borrowed from Hippolytus Portuensis' Canon of sixteen years, (vide Eusebius, E. H. vi. 22.) designed for a similar purpose, some account of which was given in a former part of this work. See

Appendix, Dissertation xiii. p. 621.

It would seem from Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, cap. 42, that he was acquainted with this cycle, and considered it to be the first of that number of years, which had been framed and published for any such purpose. On this principle, however, he must have forgotten the Paschal Canon of Anato-



It appears from the same testimony of Ambrose, that the cycle put forth by the council was not constructed without the assistance of the most eminent of the mathematicians and astronomers of the day: and

lius, which was one of nineteen years also; and prior to any that Eusebius could have published, by fifty or sixty years at least. Bede knew of the existence of this cycle. His silence, therefore, about any similar cycle of nineteen years, constructed and published by the authority of the council of Nice, if that is to be inferred from it, cannot outweigh the testimony of Ambrose above produced; which deposes so clearly to the fact of its publication by them, as well as to that of its existence in his time. The date of the epistle, which contains this testimony, is placed by his editors, A. D. 386; only sixty-one years after the date of the council.

The fact of the publication of a paschal cycle by Eusebius, and a cycle of nineteen years, there is no reason to call in question: but to suppose it the first of the kind would be contrary to the testimony of Ambrose, unless it was prior to the council of Nice. And this is not probable. On the contrary, it is much more probable that the publication of a paschal cycle by Eusebius is the occasion alluded to, however obscurely, in the *Vita Constantini*, iv. 34, 35: and if so, it appears from the same *Life*, cap. 40, that the time of the publication was about the Tricennalia of Constantine; ten years at least after the date of the council of Nice.

Nothing, in fact, was more

common, about this time, than the publication of Paschal cycles of different periods of years. Besides the canon of Hippolytus, another is extant, of sixteen years, like that, ascribed to Cyprian, under the title of *De Pascha Computus*, which either ended or began A. D. 243. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, published one of eight years, (see Eusebius, E. H. vii. 20,) sometime between the third of Philip and the twelfth of Gallienus, A. D. 246. and A. D. 264: E. H. vi. 35. and vii. 28: and Anatolius published his of nineteen years, A. D. 276 or 277: Eusebius, E. H. vii. 32. Epiphanius, i. 825. C. Audiani, xiii. speaks of the Octaëteric cycle, as the only one in use, in his time, among at least the Jews, of whom he is properly to be understood.

Cycles of xvi. xxv. xxx. and lxxxiv. years, had been compiled and published, all in reference to the Paschal question, and all before Anatolius' time, according to the Latin version of his Paschal Canon, apud Bucherium, page 439, §. 1. So also, or to a similar effect, the Prologus of Cyrill, to his own cycle of 95 years: apud Bucherium, 481. §. 1: which speaks of cycles, *Per sex quatuordecennitates*, (84 years) and *Per septem sedecennitates* (112 years) like the canon of Hippolytus in particular.

that the labours of these scientific men would have much to do with the coincidence of dates in the civil year, and the corresponding points of time in the natural year, and especially with the date of the vernal equinox in both, would follow from the necessity of the case, if it did not appear from the testimony of Ambrose; who shews that the cycle which they published at last was purposely constructed to bear date from that point of time in the civil, which corresponded—or was supposed to correspond—to this point of time in the natural year.

The nominal date of the vernal equinox in the Julian year, A. D. 325, before the meeting of the council, was doubtless March 25, as it had been fixed by Cæsar, B. C. 45: but that March 25 in the civil year was not the true date of the vernal equinox in the natural year, was known long before A. D. 325: as appears both from the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, v. 17<sup>a</sup>, where it is dated on the 22d of March, and still more from Anatolius' Paschal Cycle—apud Eusebium, *loco citato*—where the date of the vernal equinox is placed either March 22, on the fourth day after the sun's ingress into the vernal sign, which may be considered its sensible or apparent date, or March 19, three days earlier, with the supposed point of time of the actual ingress of the sun into that sign itself, which would be its physical or astronomical date. Either of these calculations, A. D. 277, or at any date between that and the time of the council, would be very near the truth; for the true date of the vernal equinox, B. C. 45, could not be later than twenty-seven minutes, forty-nine seconds, past 11 p. m. on March 22: and the anticipation between March 22. B. C. 45, and March 22, A. D. 277, would be two days, eleven

<sup>a</sup> Patres Apostolici, 258. B. C.

hours, thirty-nine minutes, nine seconds : so that if the vernal equinox, B. C. 45, fell upon March 22, at eleven hours, twenty-seven minutes, forty-nine seconds, P. M. A. D. 277, it would fall upon March 20, at eleven hours, forty-eight minutes, forty seconds, A. M. ; and it might easily be calculated to fall upon March 19 itself.

A. D. 325, the true date of the vernal equinox could not have been later than half past nine in the morning, on March 20 : and supposing it rightly fixed, B. C. 45, to March 22, eleven hours, twenty-seven minutes, forty-nine seconds, P. M., or March 22, twenty-three hours, twenty-seven minutes, forty-nine seconds, dated from midnight—then at a rate of precession amounting to eleven minutes, nine seconds annually, or two days, twenty hours, thirty-four minutes, twenty-one seconds in all, by A. D. 325, it must have fallen back to March 20, two hours, fifty-three minutes, twenty-eight seconds, dated from midnight also, or not quite three in the morning of March 20 ; which is a near approximation to falling on March 19 itself.

These examples are sufficient to prove that whatever mistake Cæsar might have laboured under, with respect to the true date of the vernal equinox, B. C. 45, the same kind of misapprehension about it no longer existed, A. D. 325. On the contrary, so far from assigning too late a date to the equinox in question, as he had done, the tendency with the astronomers of this day was rather to assign too early an one ; for March 19, A. D. 277, which Anatolius specified as the date of the true physical ingress of the sun into the first point of Aries, is rather before than behind the truth, though probably not many hours too soon. It proves to us, however, that long before the council of Nice the attention of practical astronomers had been directed to this point—the actual date of the vernal

equinox in the civil year compared with the natural—that the date of Cæsar had been abandoned on all hands—that the calculations instituted to determine the true had been made with care and exactness—and that the conclusion come to was now rather to *antedate* than to *postdate*, if I may so term it, the true point of time in question.

Now, it seems only reasonable to suppose that the eminent mathematicians, whose assistance was called in by the council of Nice, considering for what purpose they were employed, would necessarily be compelled to revise the calculations by which Sosigenes, in the time of Julius Cæsar, had been led to determine the cardinal points of the Julian in relation to the corresponding points in the natural year; and if they were so, it can scarcely be doubted, that bringing to this revision the enlarged knowledge and accumulated observations of their own times, in comparison of those of Sosigenes, they would detect the error which he had committed in fixing those cardinal points in every instance two days at least in advance of the truth. They would infallibly discover that between the date of the vernal equinox in his time, and the same date in their own, supposing it rightly fixed to March 25 in his time, there was as much as six days difference; and even supposing it antedated by two or three days in his time, there could not be less than four; that though it might once have been March 25 it was March 19 or 20 now, or if it should even then have been March 22 or 23, it would still be March 19 or 20 now.

But it would not follow from this discovery of the original error in the Julian year, that they would seek to correct it in their time, any more than the learned men of science who assisted pope Gregory in his reform-



ation of the calendar, A. D. 1582, to do the same thing under similar circumstances in theirs. We may easily conceive a variety of reasons which would have the effect of deterring them from any such attempt as that; though it is exceedingly probable that they would consider it desirable to restore the Julian year to the same state, A. D. 325, in their time, in which it had been left by its reformer, B. C. 45, in his; and that too by a mode of correction precisely the same in this instance, which pope Gregory and his assistants adopted for the selfsame purpose, A. D. 1582; viz. leaving out some two days in the ordinary reckoning of civil time, all at once; or recommending to the council that the reckoning of time in the civil year should be advanced two days at one step; the effect of which would be that March 19 would come forward into the place of March 21. By this means, the date of the vernal equinox in the civil year, A. D. 325, would be placed at the same distance from the supposed true date of the same in the natural year, as at its first institution; for March 21, A. D. 325, is almost as much in advance of March 19, as March 25, B. C. 45, of March 22. And March 19 being supposed to be the true date of the vernal equinox, A. D. 325—that is, the date of the point of time when the sun entered the first point of Aries, (a conclusion to which we see the astronomers of the time had come even so early as A. D. 277, and which, though erroneous both for this year and for that of the council, A. D. 325, is but a little in defect of the truth;) not only would the original proportions of the Julian to the tropical year be restored; but the nominal date of the vernal equinox in the Julian or civil year would actually accord with the true, or what was then sup-

posed to be the true, and what was in fact even then within a little of being the true, in the natural or solar year also.

Now, supposing some such recommendation as this to have been made to the council by the men of science whom it employed; let us consider what further reasons there might be for adopting their suggestion, beyond its own obviousness and simplicity.

A. D. 30, when April 5, according to our calculations fell upon Friday, March 19 fell upon Tuesday; and A. D. 32, the next Leap year, it fell upon Friday. Between A. D. 325, and A. D. 32, the interval is 293 years; and supposing the Julian March 19, A. D. 32. to have been Friday, and the Julian year to have gone on without interruption ever after, then it will be found upon calculation that A. D. 325, not March 19, but March 17, would fall upon Friday, and March 19 upon Sunday. Now suppose a correction of the calendar, A. D. 325, to this effect—that July 23 was called all at once July 25. March 18, A. D. 325, in the ensuing year, A. D. 326, would be called March 20; and March 18, A. D. 325, being Saturday, March 18, that is, March 20, A. D. 326, would be Sunday. Now March 20 is exactly a mean between the supposed true date of the vernal equinox, March 19, and the proposed civil or nominal date, March 21, A. D. 325: and if the scientific men, employed by the council to calculate this date, were not so certain of the truth of their conclusions, but that they might consider it possible that the actual date of the vernal equinox, A. D. 325, might be later than March 19, though it could not be later than March 21, a mean date between the two, like March 20, would recommend itself on many accounts as the best and fittest to be the ἀρχὴ or point of departure for a paschal cycle intended

to regulate the observance of Easter by so peculiar a rule as that of its never being kept before, but always after, the vernal equinox—which was the regulation enforced by the council—the vernal equinox itself being fixed nominally to March 21. It happens too, by a coincidence, of which the learned men in question probably could not be aware, though it is not the less interesting on that account, that March 20, the mean date between the supposed true date, March 19, and the nominal or civil one, March 21, was the actual date of the vernal equinox, A. D. 325. The sun entered the first point of Aries that year, as we have already observed, not later than eight or nine, and possibly as early as three in the morning on March 20. A paschal cycle of nineteen years, if bearing date from March 20, A. D. 320, would thus bear date from the first day of the week, and from the actual true date of the vernal equinox in that year, and as near to the supposed true date, and the assumed nominal date in the same, as possible.

Again, the points of paramount importance to be attended to in the observance of Easter, according to the practice of the orthodox part of the church, were the relative position of the vernal equinox, the full of the moon, the sabbatum magnum, and the ἀναστάσιμος ἡμέρα, or day of the resurrection <sup>a</sup>. The vernal equinox must be arrived or past—the full of the moon must be the one next ensuing—the sabbatum magnum must be the Saturday, and the ἀναστάσιμος ἡμέρα must be the Sunday, after it. Now whatever rule for the observance of Easter the council of Nice might think fit to propose, we may take it for granted it was never intended to come into force before Easter, A. D. 326 :

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the Apostolical Constitutions, *loco citato*, and the Paschal Homilies ascribed to Chrysostom, *passim*.

though there is no reason to be assigned why it should not have come into force at that time. The council itself did not meet until after Easter, A. D. 325 ; but it had broken up its sitting long before Easter, A. D. 326 : and Constantine's letter, referred to above, will shew, that whatever was the rule which it had agreed to establish with respect to the observance of Easter, this rule began to be circulated through the church, immediately after the rising of the council, with a view to its being acted upon accordingly at the very next opportunity which might occur.

Now from an eclipse of the moon in Pingré, January 5, A. D. 326, at four A. M. for the meridian of Paris, we may safely collect that the third mean full moon from that date exclusive, for the meridian of Nice, would fall out not later than six in the afternoon of April 3. There is no question that this would be the paschal full moon, A. D. 326. It is reasonable to presume that the scientific astronomers, who assisted the council A. D. 325, would be able to calculate this full moon with almost as much precision as we ourselves ; especially as there were two lunar eclipses, A. D. 325 ; one, January 16, at half past twelve P. M. ; and the other, July 12, at one, P. M. which could not fail to be observed, and the former of which at least would materially assist their conclusions.

Now A. D. 326, if March 20 was Sunday, April 3 would be Sunday : and if April 3 was also the date of the first full moon after March 21, then, according to the rule which at present prevails, and also according to that of the council of Nice \*, April 10, the Sunday

\* The rule which at present prevails, and which is certainly in accordance with the prescription of the council, is, that if the paschal full moon falls on a

Sunday, Easter day is the Sunday after. The rule in question is distinctly stated in the Paschal Chronicle, i. 423. 1—430. 5. The reason of the rule ap-



after, would be Easter day, and April 9, the Saturday before, would be the sabbatum magnum preceding it. On this principle, the vernal equinox, the full of the moon, the sabbatum magnum, the ἀναστάσιμος ἡμέρα, in the very first year of the celebration of Easter according to the injunctions of the council of Nice, would all fall out exactly as the rule required: the mean date of the vernal equinox, March 20, on the first day of the week, and the paschal full moon on the next Sunday but one afterwards, and Easter day on the Sunday following; and consequently all in their proper relative order, and as near to each other as possible. Nor let it be supposed that if these coincidences could be foreseen by the council, A. D. 325, they would not have great weight with them in determining their assent to the proposed correction of the style, and to the adjustment of the ἀρχὴ of their cycle of paschal full moons accordingly.

It may be objected, however, that a correction of this kind could scarcely have been made by the council

pears to have been the current belief in the church that our Saviour suffered on the 15th of the moon, and rose from the dead on the 17th. See the Paschal Canon of Anatolius, apud Bucherium, 445. §. vi. and vii; the Epistle of Ambrose, before referred to, §. 10, 12; the Prologus of Theophilus, De Sancto Pascha, apud Bucherium, 473. §. 4, 5; and the Prologus of Cyrill, to the same effect, apud eundem, 484. 7.

We may respect the motive which suggested this scruple; but the assumption on which the regulation is founded was in error. The day of the moon, on which our Saviour suffered, was the four-

teenth. The fifteenth of the moon, at the time of the Passion, was the day on which he lay in the grave; and the sixteenth was the day of his resurrection.

Another and a better reason would be, that the fourteenth of the moon falling on Sunday, the day of the Dominical Passion would fall on Sunday; and the day of the Dominical Passion under all circumstances being to be kept as a fast, Sunday must be kept as a fast; a necessity which the church could not away with. Sunday, under no circumstances, could be kept as a fast. To fast upon Sunday was pecu-

of Nice, without attracting some notice in contemporary ecclesiastical or civil history. The silence of contemporary history upon the fact of any such correction, in general\*, we may admit; but still we may contend that this silence no more disproves the fact of some such correction's having taken place, than the silence of Thucydides, the very similar fact that the Athenians adopted the cycle of Meton, B. C. 433, two years before the Peloponnesian war, and altered the beginning of their

liar to the Manichæans. Vide the Epistle of Ambrose, *loco citato*, §. 11; and the Prologus of Theophilus, apud Bucherium, page 472. §. 3.

Evidences of a rule analogous to this appear in the canon of Hippolytus, before referred to, and perhaps in that of Cyprian; though it is not so certain of the latter. Whether the same rule always prevailed even among those churches which made a point of never keeping Easter until after the vernal equinox, may be doubtful. I should be inclined to think not. It does not distinctly appear in the Apostolical Constitutions; though indeed to fast on the Sunday, under any circumstances, is repeatedly there prohibited; as well as to fast on the Sabbath, except on the Saturday in Passion week.

And this is one reason to induce me to think that the paschal cycle of Hippolytus, in which traces of this rule appear, as we have it at present, has been modified, in conformity to the regulations laid down by the council of Nice.

It may be doubtful, indeed, whether, A. D. 326, the mean full moon falling at 6, P. M.

April 3—according to the rule prescribed by the council, April 3, or April 10, would be kept as Easter day; though one of them certainly would; and it is indifferent to our argument, which; as either of them would be Sunday. The rule of the council, as we shall see hereafter, in strictness was, that if the *fourteenth* of the moon fell on the Sabbath, the lunar fifteenth, which in that case would fall on the Sunday, should be Easter day. And that was the case, A. D. 326; according at least to the mean lunar motion. The moon arriving at the full at 6 P. M. on April 3—its fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* began 18 hours, 22 minutes before, at 38 minutes past 11 P. M. on April 2. It is possible, then, that April 3 might be Easter Day, and April 2, the *Sabbatum Magnum*; not April 10 and April 9 respectively. In this case, the coincidences, alluded to in the text, would become still more remarkable.

\* I say, in general, for I hope to shew before the end of this Dissertation, that we are not so much in want of particular testimony to it, as might be supposed.

civil year, from the winter to the summer solstice, in conformity to it. The fact of this adoption, and the date of it, we learn from Diodorus Siculus<sup>c</sup>, and other sources<sup>\*</sup>; and the fact of the silence of Thucydides about it is no less certain, even where the subject on which he was speaking almost of necessity led to the mention of it<sup>d</sup>.

Again, the cycle put forth by the council, though probably a very careful and exact production, in which we might naturally have expected to meet with some allusion to this subject, is nowhere preserved in any document of antiquity. Ambrose, no doubt, was acquainted with it, sixty years after its date; but Bede was not aware of its existence, though he had seen that of Eusebius, only ten years later than it.

Again, notwithstanding the celebrity of this famous council, yet, as we before observed, almost all its acts, if we except what related to the Arian controversy, are involved in obscurity; so that little is known, or can be known, at this distance of time, respecting its proceedings. It is a doubtful point whether the canons, framed by it, were limited to the sixteen or twenty which remain in the original Greek, and in the contemporary Latin versions, or comprehended that large addition of particular canons, which is given in the second volume of Labbe<sup>e</sup>, from the Arabic version of

\* Cf. Festus Avienus, apud Aratum, ii. p. 177. Aratea Prognostica, lines 41—51. Nam qui Solem hiberna novem putat æthere volvi, | Ut Lunæ spacium redeat, vetus Harpalus, ipsam | Ocyus in sedes momentaque prisca reducit. | Illius ad numeros proluxa decennia rursum | Adjecisse Meton Cæropea dicitur arte; | Inse-

ditque animis, tenuit rem Græcia solers | Protinus, et longos inventum misit in annos. | Sed primæva Meton exordia sumpsit ab anno | Torreret rutilo cum Phœbus sidere Cancrum, | Cingula cum veheret pelagus procul Orionis, | Et cum cæruleo flagraret Sirius astro.



their proceedings\*. Among these canons, too, not one relates distinctly to the paschal question, except the twenty-first of the *Nova Versio*<sup>e</sup>; and that, too, without descending into particulars†. The date of the council—the beginning and the ending of its sitting—much more the details of its proceedings day by day—are very differently, or very imperfectly represented. According to Eusebius, Theodorit, Socrates, and others, it met in the time of pope Sylvester; according to Sozomen, in that of pope Julius<sup>f</sup>. If the author of the work ascribed by Photius to Gelasius<sup>g</sup>, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, is to be believed, it met in the sixteenth and sat to the twenty-second of Constantine<sup>†h</sup>. The *πολιτεία*, that is, Life and Conversation, of Metrophanes, bishop of Byzantium, afterwards Constantinople, and of Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, also described by Photius<sup>i</sup>, the author of which<sup>k</sup> speaks of himself as a contemporary

\* Theodorit, E. H. i. viii. 29. C. reckons them twenty in number. So also Moses Chorenensis, *Historia Armeniaca*, ii. lxxxvii. §. 1. p. 223. The reader will find them, twenty in number, among the *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula*, edited by the learned and venerable president of Magdalene College, Dr. Routh, Oxonii, 1832. p. 354—367.

† The same thing is true of the Epistle of the council to the churches of Egypt, &c. Socrates, i. ix. 28, 29: Theodorit, i. ix. 31, 32: Gelasius, apud Labbe, ii.

xxxiii. p. 251. B—D. Cf. also Pollux, *Chronicon*, p. 282.

‡ Apud Labbe, indeed, this date is the twentieth: see p. 266. C—D. It is very possible this statement might arise from confounding the date of the council with the beginning of the Arian controversy. Jerome in *Chronico* places the council in the fifteenth of Constantine; where Eusebius, *Chronicon Armeno-Latinum*, on the contrary, places the first breaking out of the disputes between Alexander and Arius.

<sup>e</sup> Labbe, ii. p. 376, 377. <sup>f</sup> Eusebius, *Vita*, iii. vii. 487. A: Theodorit, i. vii. 24, &c. Cf. Sozomen, i. ii. 403. A: ii. xx. 470: iv. viii. 545: and Socrates, ii. xxxiv. 129. A. B: Theodorit, i. iii. 8. A: ii. xv. 92. C: Moses Chorenensis, *Historia Armeniaca*, ii. lxxxvi. §. 2. 221: Socrates, i. viii. 19. A—20 A. xiii. 43. A. C: Sozomen, i. xvii. 430. A. x. 414. C. D. <sup>g</sup> Codex 88. p. 66. Cf. Labbe, vol. ii. 103—267, where the original is given at large, if it be indeed the work of the bishop of Cæsarea, and not of the bishop of Cyzicus, alluded to in Photius. It appears from the exordium of it that it was compiled or published by the author, from a MS. which had belonged to Dalmatius, archbishop of Cyzicus. <sup>h</sup> Photius, p. 66. l. 3—6. *ad dextram*. <sup>i</sup> Codex 256. p. 469 et sqq. <sup>k</sup> p. 469. l. 24. *ad dextram*.



of Constantine's, represents it to have lasted from the 15th of April in one year, to the month of September in the third<sup>k</sup>, or rather the fourth, year afterwards; for it supposes it to have sat three years and six months in all. The true year of its meeting, indeed, according to the best authorities, was the nineteenth of Constantine, *exeunte*; and its sitting was over before the vicennialia of the emperor arrived and were celebrated; that is, before July 25, A. D. 325\*. As to the commencement of its sitting, the *πολιτεία*, we have seen, places it April 15: Socrates<sup>l</sup>, May 20: the notice prefixed to the canons<sup>m</sup>, the nineteenth of Desius, *πρὸ δεκατριῶν καλανδῶν Ἰουλίων*, June 19. These dates, it is true, may possibly be reconciled together: especially if understood of different periods of its sittings; or some of its beginning, and others of its close. I mention such differences at present, only to shew how much uncertainty hangs over even the general history of the council; much more over the course and particular details of its proceedings.

I cannot help suspecting, however, that there is something like historical testimony to the fact of the correction in question, in the following passage of Epiphanius, *Adversus Hæreses*. The Audiani, a sect, the rise of which is dated by Theodorit, (if he means the same with Epiphanius,) A. D. 370, only forty-five years later than the council of Nice, and Audæus, or Audius, the founder of which, is made by Epiphanius contemporary with that council itself<sup>n</sup>, and whose orthodoxy in

\* Vide also the letter to pope 325, when the sitting was ended; Sylvester, apud Labbe, ii. 58. and was received xiii. kalendas C—E. which was written viii. Novembres, October 20. Calendas Julias, June 24, A. D.

<sup>k</sup> p. 471. l. 42—472. l. 2. <sup>l</sup> E. H. i. 13. 43. Cf. Pollux, *Chronicon*, p. 254. <sup>m</sup> Labbe, ii. 28. D. <sup>n</sup> E. H. iv 10. 162: Epiphanius, *Adversus Hæreses*, i. 811. A. Audiani, i: 827. A. Ibid. xiv: 828. C. Ibid. xv.

other respects, according to him at least, there is little or no reason to call in question, only that his sect chose to adhere to a different rule for the observance of Easter from that of the rest of the church; in defence of this instance of their dissent, according to Epiphanius, insisted that they themselves were observing the ancient and primitive rule, while the rest of the church had abandoned it, out of compliment, or as they called it, *προσωποληψία*, to the reigning emperor: ὅτι ὅτε τὰ γενέθλια τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου, τότε μετεποιήσασθε, φησὶ, τὸ πᾶσχα<sup>ο</sup>. This charge can apply only to the council of Nice, and to some change made by them in the observance of Easter, in the time of Constantine. The charge, literally understood, would imply that the change was made out of compliment to the emperor's birthday, which happened to fall out at the same time.

Now this charge, literally understood, would refute itself; for as Epiphanius well observes, the observance of an emperor's birthday, which must be fixed to some one day in the year, could have nothing at all to do with the motives of a change in the rule of the observance of Easter; the day prescribed for which was liable to vary between two fixed terms, not less than a month asunder. I cannot help suspecting, however, that there was some ground for this charge of the Audiani, notwithstanding its apparent absurdity; and that, when it comes to be explained, we shall find in it the secret of the correction of the style in question—which, if it was not made for the sake of the paschal rule expressly, yet was intimately connected therewith.

In the language of these times, both Constantine's birthday, and the day of his accession to the purple, might be called his *γενέθλια*. The day of his birth is

<sup>ο</sup> Adversus Hæreses, i. 821. A. Audiani, ix: Cf. 826. xiv.

not exactly known; unless with Eckhel<sup>p</sup>, upon the authority of an ancient kalendar, which he quotes, we place it iii. kalendas Martias, Feb. 27. But the date of his accession to the purple, upon his father's death, is well known to have been July 25, A. D. 306. His nineteenth year would consequently expire July 24, A. D. 325. The council of Nice met in the spring quarter of his nineteenth year; and his vicennalia were just at hand at the time when they broke up their sitting<sup>q</sup>. The letter to pope Sylvester, quoted above, if a genuine document, would prove that the last day of the sitting, before it broke up, was June 24: only one calendar month, before the expiration of Constantine's nineteenth year, and the anniversary of his twentieth, when his *γενέθλια* imperii, or vicennalia, would be celebrated in due course.

Now, let it be supposed that the council had come to the resolution of altering the style—with a view to the correction of those anomalies in the civil year, and to those purposes in the ecclesiastical, which have been mentioned—and that too, by striking two days out of the reckoning of civil time at once. What would be more naturally to be expected, than that they should order the correction in question to bear date from the vicennalia of the emperor, just at hand? that is, that they should order the 23rd of July, the thirtieth day from the close of their sitting, that is, exactly one calendar month from that date, to be called the 25th. The first day of the new style, on this principle, would be the emperor's vicennalia; and greater lustre could

<sup>p</sup> *Doctrina Numerum Veterum*, viii. 71. Cf. Bucherius, *De Doctrina Temporum*, p. 276. 282. In this same Calendar, while one Natalis of Constantine is set down, iii. Kalendas Martias, Feb. 27, another is so, viii. Kal. Augusti, July 25: which last was the day of his accession, yet is called his Natalis, as much as the other. So also, p. 287, the Natalis of Constantius, vi. id. Novembres. <sup>q</sup> See Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iii. 15. 491. A: 22. 496. A: iv. 47. 550. B: Socrates, i. 16. 45. C: Sozomen, i. 25. 438. D. Cf. Theodorit, i. 26. 59: Socrates, i. 15. and the Notes of Valesius, *in loco*: Sozomen, ii. 17. 465—468: ii. 22. 473.

not be given to the change, than by the celebrities with which that day would be commemorated all over the empire. It is to be observed also, that the vicennalia of the emperor on this principle would fall on the first day of the week: and when we consider the peculiar sanctity which attached to the Sunday, at this period in the history of the church, both in public and in private estimation—we need not hesitate to conclude that that too would be a strong recommendation of the change proposed. For March 19, as we have seen, A. D. 325, in the regular course of things, coinciding with Sunday; July 23, in the regular course of things, would coincide with Sunday also: and if July 23, when it arrived, was to be called July 25—July 25 would coincide with Sunday too. Moreover, July 25, A. D. 325, coinciding by hypothesis with Sunday; it follows that February 27, A. D. 326, would coincide with Sunday also: that is, by virtue of the correction of the style, A. D. 325, and its beginning to bear date from July 25 in that year, not only the emperor's *natalis imperii*, but his actual birthday, February 27, would fall out and be celebrated on the Sunday: and this too would doubtless have its weight both with the council, in determining them to propose, and with the emperor, in persuading him to consent, to the change in question.

If then such a change in the style as this was actually made by order of the council of Nice, A. D. 325—and so made as to begin to take effect upon the *natalis imperii* of the emperor, first; it will be admitted, I think, that this fact was competent to furnish a specious ground for the charge of the Audiani, that the old rule in the observance of Easter was first departed from by the council of Nice, out of compliment to the reigning emperor. The change in the style was too



intimately connected with the establishment of the new paschal rule, not to be easily confounded with it. The last proof which I shall mention of the fact of the correction in question, is, the coincidence of certain days of the month with certain days of the week, found upon record, within thirty-five years *after* the date of the council; and which would not be consistent with other similar coincidences within less than the same distance of time *before* the council, previously established, if there had not been a change in the style between them, amounting to a difference of two days exactly.

These dates occur in the same Epistle of Ambrose, relative to the observance of Easter, from which the account of the Paschal Cycle, published by authority of the council, has been quoted already. There are several such dates there to be met with. I shall take that which is nearest in point of time to the date of the council.

Æræ Diocletianæ 76, April 23 is said to have fallen on Sunday<sup>a</sup>. Æræ Diocletianæ 76 began September 24, A. D. 359, and expired September 23, A. D. 360. Between these dates, April 23, it seems, was a Sunday.

Now A. D. 325, supposing July 25 to have been Sunday, April 23, A. D. 326, would be Saturday; and A. D. 328, the next leap year, it would be Tuesday. Between A. D. 360, and A. D. 328, the interval is 32 years. And

|                   |         |           |
|-------------------|---------|-----------|
|                   | d.      | h.        |
| 30 Julian years = | 10,957. | 12        |
| 2                 | =       | 730. 12   |
| 32                | =       | 11,688. 0 |

which are = 1,669 weeks, and five days. Hence, if the Julian reckoning of time had gone on uninterruptedly from April 23, A. D. 328, to April 23, A. D. 360;

<sup>a</sup> Ambrose, *Operum* ii. 887. C. §. 21.

April 23, A. D. 360, would be five days in advance of April 23, A. D. 328: that is, April 23, A. D. 328, being Tuesday, April 23, A. D. 360, was Sunday.

Now let the reader compare with this conclusion the fact established from Eusebius, that A. D. 306, November 20 was Friday: in which case April 23 before it must have been Thursday. Consequently A. D. 308, the next leap year, it must have been Sunday. Between A. D. 360, and A. D. 308, the interval is 52 years. And

|                 |           |                   |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------------|
|                 | d.        | h.                |
| 50 Julian years | = 18,262. | 12                |
| 2               | =         | 730. 12           |
| <hr/> 52        |           | <hr/> = 18,993. 0 |

These = 2,713 weeks, and two days over. Hence, if the Julian reckoning had gone on without interruption from A. D. 308, to A. D. 360; April 23, which A. D. 308 fell upon Sunday, A. D. 360 would have fallen on Tuesday: and April 21 would have fallen upon Sunday. But Ambrose attests that April 23 that year was Sunday; and so it would be, if at any intermediate period, as A. D. 325, a change in the style of such a nature was made all at once, that April 21, up to A. D. 325, became April 23, A. D. 326, and from that time forward—as we have supposed it did.

After the consideration of this one coincidence, pre-supposing the correction in question, it is unnecessary to examine any more, the truth of which would follow from that of this. *Æræ Diocletianæ* 89, (A. D. 373,) March 31 was Sunday<sup>b</sup>, and *Æræ Diocletianæ* 93, (A. D. 377,) April 9 was Sunday: and both these coincidences would necessarily hold good, if A. D. 360, April 23 was Sunday. For in that case, March 31,

<sup>b</sup> Ambrose, *Operum* ii. 884. B—D. §. 14.

A. D. 360, was Friday: and A. D. 364, the next leap year, it was Wednesday; A. D. 368 Monday; A. D. 372 Saturday, and A. D. 373 Sunday. A. D. 376 it would be Thursday, and A. D. 377 Friday: in which case, April 1 would be Saturday, and April 9 would be Sunday\*.

Whatsoever the reader may think of the probability of the matter of fact, for which we are here contending, the correction of the calendar by the council of Nice—one thing is certain—that if the Julian year corresponds at present to the Julian year in the time of Cæsar, corrections must have been applied to it, and corrections amounting on the whole to the sum total of the effect of the anticipation of a given date in the Julian, upon the corresponding date in the natural, which has been going on from the time of its first institution to the present day. We are able to account for the reduction of this anticipation—so far as it had been accumulated between the date of the council of Nice, and the time of Gregory the XIIIth: and we are able to account for the reduction of the further accumulation which has taken place between his time and our own: but we are not able to account for the

\* It is very true, that the tables of the solar cycle would shew these several coincidences, in conformity to Ambrose's account of them. Thus, according to these tables, A. D. 360, cycle 5. Dom. lett. B. A. April 23 was Sunday; A. D. 373, cycle 18, Dom. lett. F. March 31 was Sunday: A. D. 377, cycle 22, Dom. lett. A. April 9 was Sunday. But this constitutes no difficulty; because supposing the correction in question to have taken place A. D. 325, it was no more than was to

be expected. For if, before this correction, the common reckoning of time was two days in advance of the solar cycle; then, by virtue of the correction, when two days were struck out of the reckoning at once, it would be reduced to a par with it; and beginning together July 25, A. D. 325, they would proceed together, without the slightest apparent difference, from that time forward to the time of the next correction of the calendar, by pope Gregory the XIIIth.

accumulation which had necessarily been going on between the time of Julius Cæsar, and the date of the council of Nice—except by supposing some correction, amounting just to that accumulation, and no more, at the time of the council itself.

I confess it is with unmixed satisfaction that I have arrived at this conclusion: for I have always felt it a difficulty with respect to such important occasions in the gospel history, as the dates of the several pass-overs in the course of our Saviour's ministry—the day of the month on which he suffered—the probable day of his birth, and the like—that *a priori* probability of every kind—the reason of the thing—the necessity of the case—circumstantial and historical evidence, frequently of the plainest and most conclusive sort—should point to one result, and the tables of the solar cycle indicate another. This anomaly is now explained; for with respect to the proper use of these tables, which is to shew the rotation of the Dominical or Sunday letter, from a given point of time, for periods of twenty-eight years either backwards or forwards; it is selfevident that they cannot serve that purpose without some correction, if the rotation in question has by any means been thrown out of course. An interruption of this kind was produced by the correction at the council of Nice; if any such then took place. The Dominical letter, for that year, was advanced all at once two years out of course. A.D. 325, cycle 26, the Dominical letter was C. But July 23, A.D. 325, being called all at once July 25, the effect was the same as if the Dominical letter, A.D. 325, had been advanced from C to A: and the year of the cycle, instead of being the 26th, had become all at once the 28th. And cycle 28, Dom. letter A. July 23 would be Sunday.



On this principle, the last year of a solar cycle, or a series of solar cycles for any number of years, may be considered to have been brought to a close, with Saturday, July 24, A. D. 325: and a fresh series to have begun to be current from Sunday, July 25, which would go on without interruption to the time of Gregory xiii. A. D. 1582; when a fresh interruption, requiring a fresh adjustment of the cycle in conformity to it, also took place. But with respect to the application of the cycle to periods of twenty-eight years, dated backwards from the council of Nice—as for instance to the years which come within the period of the Gospel ministry, A. D. 26 to A. D. 30; A. D. 30, the last of these, was the eleventh year of the cycle, before the correction, just as A. D. 325 was the 26th. And if A. D. 325, in consequence of the correction, the 26th year of the cycle became in effect the 28th; on the same principle, in conformity to such an alteration, A. D. 30, the eleventh year of the cycle must be considered to have become in effect the 13th. The proper Dominical letter of the eleventh year of the cycle must consequently be considered to have become that of the thirteenth. If the former was A before, it must now be considered to be F; and when the Dominical letter is F, April 5, as the tables themselves will shew, is necessarily Friday.

On this principle, A. D. 30, the true place of April 5, in the order of the days of the week, even as indicated by the cycle itself, was Friday: which the tables would otherwise have shewn to be Wednesday. This example is sufficient to explain both the anomaly liable to result, in consequence of the change of style, A. D. 325, in the ordinary application of the solar cycle to its ordinary purpose, the determination of the Sunday letter for any year that goes beyond the date of the

council ; as well as the means to be adopted to guard against it : viz. to consider the given year of the cycle as advanced two numbers higher, and to search for the Dominical letter, and for the consequent place of the day of the month, and the day of the week accordingly.

A correction to this effect we have hitherto been applying to all such dates, as came specially under our observation, without knowing precisely the reason why ; though morally satisfied of the necessity of the correction itself. But the reason must now be apparent, if it is resolvable into a change of the style by order of the council of Nice—which broke the series of the Dominical letters, and rendered the application of the cycle to the determination of the Sunday letters, no longer practicable, without the accompaniment of a certain correction, of which we were not before aware.

The necessary consequence of overlooking or neglecting this correction, I fear, is to be charged upon all those schemes of coincidences between days of the month and days of the week, with reference to the Gospel history, which have been proposed by various harmonists, in the ordinary application of the cycle. But we have dwelt too long on this subject, to enter into any digression, for so invidious a purpose more especially, as the exposure of the possible errors of our predecessors in the same task of harmonizing the Gospel narrative. Let it rather be observed in excuse for such errors, that even if committed, they are entitled to all indulgence ; supposing the fact of a correction of the calendar, by the council of Nice, to have been hitherto, as I believe, unsuspected. The authors of Gospel harmonies could not guard against a source of error, of the existence of which they knew or suspected nothing.—

It has been commonly supposed that the disputes relating to the observance of Easter were set at rest, or to speak more truly, compromised, at the council of Nice, by an agreement that the church of Alexandria, as the best qualified for the purpose, should be commissioned to calculate the paschal full moons, within certain prescribed limits; that these full moons should be notified, every year, by that church to the apostolic see, or bishops of Rome; and the time when Easter was to be observed, in conformity to these calculations, should be made known by the bishops of Rome to the rest of the Christian world.

If this was the case, the council of Nice might very well spare itself all further trouble upon this question. It must have been a superfluous task, to compose a paschal cycle of nineteen years, constructed for this very purpose of giving the church the means of ascertaining the time of the observance of Easter, and intended to have this effect of providing for the observance of Easter at one and the same time, and in one and the same manner, all over the Christian world.

We must give up then the fact of the publication of a nineteen years' paschal cycle, by the council of Nice, if we acquiesce in this statement, of the commission deputed to the church of Alexandria, and the bishops of Rome, in conjunction. I fear, however, that the assumption of the fact of this commission, by any such authority at least as that of the council of Nice, is one of those positions which have been taken up without sufficient evidence of their truth. It is very repugnant to antecedent probability, that A. D. 325, an Œcumenic council, the first which had yet been got together, would have been so far prepared to defer to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, as to make him arbiter of the observance of the most important festival

in the Christian year \*; especially at a time when so much diversity of practice existed about it, and the spirit of party, for more than a century and an half, since the first agitation of the paschal controversy, had run, and was still continuing to run, so high. It is highly improbable too, that after such an arrangement as this, there could have been any difference from the time of the council of Nice, and thenceforwards, between the Roman and the Alexandrine rule, with respect to the observance of Easter. But it is notorious that there was a difference, even after the time of the council. In the first of their paschal limits, they appear to have agreed; but in the last, they differed. The latest of the paschal terms, according to the Roman rule, was ix. kalendas Maias, or April 23: the latest, according to the Alexandrine, was vii. kalendas Maias, or April 25. It is notorious, too, that, of these conflicting rules, that which was always understood to have the sanction of the council of Nice, and that which in fact is acted upon still, under the name and by the authority of that council, is the latter, and not the former; that is, the Alexandrine, and not the Roman.

There is no contemporary testimony to the fact of this supposed commission to the church of Alexandria: there is no mention of it in any of the extant canons of the council of Nice: there is no allusion to it in any of the still remaining accounts of its proceedings generally, or in reference to the paschal controversy in particular. There is every reason, on the

\* See in particular, as a proof of the animus of the council upon this point, the viith and viiith of its canons, apud Labbe, ii. page 31: the former of which asserts the independence of the churches, in the different *ἐπαρ-*

*χίαι*, except on their proper metropolitans, according to τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη: and the latter reserves his prescriptive rights and immunities notwithstanding to the bishop of Ælia or Jerusalem.



contrary, from all that is extant of the history of the council, to presume that no such commission ever could have been given by it. Nothing can be clearer from that history than this fact; that the paschal controversy was supposed to have been set at rest by some act of the council of and by itself; that some general regulation which might ensure an uniform observance of Easter ever after, was made and provided by itself. The publication of a paschal cycle, constructed under its superintendence, and put forth by its authority, and calculated for perpetual use; if it was only sufficiently clear and intelligible, and sufficiently carefully made, as there is every reason to believe that of the council was, would necessarily have this effect.

The earliest mention of the office deputed to the church of Alexandria, in calculating Easter for the observance of the rest of the church, occurs, if I mistake not, in the Prologus of Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, to his paschal cycle of ninety-five years; which he published to serve as an epitome or abridgment of the larger cycle of Theophilus, his uncle, and predecessor in the same see, of 418 years. The date of this Prologus it appears is *Æræ Diocletianæ* 153, A.D. 437. The reader will find it in Bucherius <sup>a</sup>. The passage to which I allude is as follows <sup>b</sup>:—Cum his igitur atque hujusmodi dissensionibus per universum orbem paschalis regula turbaretur; Sanctorum totius orbis Synodi consensione decretum est, ut, quoniam apud Alexandriam talis esset reperta Ecclesia, quæ in hujus scientia clareret, quota Kalendarum vel Iduum, quota Luna Pascha debeat celebrari, per singulos annos Romanæ Ecclesiæ litteris intimaret: unde Apostolica auctoritate universalis Ecclesia per totum orbem diffinitum Paschæ diem sine ulla disceptatione cognosceret.

<sup>a</sup> De Doctrina Temporum, 481—484.

<sup>b</sup> Page 481. §. 2.

There is no mention here of the council of Nice : of nothing but an Œcumenic synod, as the authors of the commission in question : and without calling in question the fact of the commission itself sometime, and by some council, before the date of this Prologus of Cyril's, still it is gratuitous, all at once to infer that this must have been the council of Nice.

The same remark may be made upon the next distinct allusion to this, in point of time ; which I believe is to be found in the Epistle of pope Leo, written to the emperor Marcian, A. D. 453, upon occasion of a question connected with the future observance of Easter, A. D. 455. The reader will find this too in Bucherius' Commentary on Victorius' Paschal Canon <sup>c</sup>. After some general observations relating to the perplexities liable to occur on this subject, it proceeds <sup>d</sup>; Studuereque SS. Patres occasionem hujus erroris auferre, omnem hanc curam Alexandrino episcopo delegantes, quoniam apud Ægyptios hujus supputationis antiquitus tradita esse videbatur peritia ; per quem, qui annis singulis dies prædictæ solemnitatis eveniret, Sedi Apostolicæ indicaretur ; ut hujus scripti ad longinquiores Ecclesias indicium generaliter percurreret.

Neither here is there any mention of the council in particular which deputed this authority ; and though some council may certainly be intended by the description of SS. Patres, and some general or Œcumenic one ; still if there was any other general council between the Nicene and the time of pope Leo, it would be a gratuitous supposition to assume it must of necessity have been the Œcumenic council of Nice.

Without pretending to dispute the truth of the fact itself, I should be strongly inclined to conclude that

<sup>c</sup> Caput ii. page 78—80.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. page 79.

the council from which this commission emanated was the second Œcumenic council, the council of Constantinople, A. D. 381<sup>f</sup>, the sitting of which began in May, and ended July 30, the same year\*. It is true no such commission is found among its extant canons: but that is an objection which applies no more to this council than to the council of Nice. In the mean time, its extant provisions are of such a kind, as to favour the presumption that a commission like this would emanate more probably from the council of Constantinople, than from that of Nice; for the first distinct limitation of the rights and jurisdictions of the great divisions of the church, whether patriarchal, metropolitan, or diocesan, was formally made by this council†: and it was the first which may be considered to have recognised the titular, if not the real, supremacy of the see of Rome, by allowing precedence to the bishop of Rome, and ordering that the bishop of Constantinople, as the *νέα Ῥώμη*, should take precedence next to him: *τὰ πρεσβεῖα ἔχειν τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν* (sc. Constantinople) *νέαν Ῥώμην*<sup>g</sup>: a canon reinforced in the general council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451<sup>h</sup>.

I think it contributes to confirm this conclusion, that the Paschal Cycle of Theophilus, above alluded

\* The date premised to their canons, Labbe, ii. p. 946, is *πρὸ ἐπὶ τὰ εἰδῶν Ἰουλίῳ*, July 11, A. D. 381.

† Supposing, that is, the many canons, relating to these subjects, attributed to the council

of Nice, in the Arabic version of its proceedings—are spurious; of which there can be little doubt: see Labbe, vol. ii. p. 303. cap. 39: p. 319. Canon 8: p. 327, 328. Canon 37—43: p. 338. Canon 71: 351. cap. 9.

<sup>f</sup> Socrates, v. viii. 264. C—D: Sozomen, vii. vii. 711—ix. 715: Theodoret, v. vi. 205. C. vii. viii: and Labbe, Concilia, tom. ii. 911—978. <sup>g</sup> Socrates, E. II. v. viii. 265. C. Cf. the third of the Canons of the Council, apud Labbe, ii. page 947. <sup>h</sup> Evagrius, ii. iv. 295. A. xviii. 329. B. Cf. Labbe, iv. 769. Canon xxviii.

to, was compiled at the instance of the emperor Theodosius, to put a stop to the confusion and uncertainty still existing upon the question of the annual observance of Easter, by entering at once into the minutiae of the subject, and calculating a cycle which might be of perpetual use and application. The result was a cycle which is described as extending to 418 years, and as calculated for one hundred<sup>i</sup>. Now it appears that this cycle was compiled by Theophilus, when bishop of Alexandria; and the time when he became bishop, according to Socrates, was A. D. 385<sup>k</sup>. It appears also that this cycle bore date from the first consulate of Theodosius, A. D. 380, the year before the meeting of the council of Constantinople<sup>l</sup>.

Now though this cycle bore date A. D. 380, yet if it was compiled by Theophilus after his accession to the see of Alexandria, it could not have been compiled before A. D. 385 at least. That the point of departure of the cycle anticipated the year of its composition, is no difficulty; as nothing was more common than such an anticipation in the cycles of the time. Victorius' Paschal Canon of 532 years bore date from the Passion, Coss. Geminis, as he supposed, A. D. 29<sup>m</sup>; though his own age was the consulate of Constantinus and Rufus<sup>n</sup>, A. D. 457.

Now it is a probable conjecture, that if the cycle of Theophilus was compiled later than A. D. 385, and yet bore date from A. D. 380—this year was chosen as the *caput* or ἀρχὴ of the cycle, because it was the year

<sup>i</sup> Cyril, apud Bucherium, §. 2. p. 482.

<sup>k</sup> E. H. v. xii. 271. B. C. Cf.

Sozomen, vii. xiv. 722. C: Theodorit, v. xxii. 228. C.

<sup>l</sup> See the Thesaurus

Temporum, Idatius, p. 20: the Prologus of Cyril, *loco citato*: the three Epistles of Pope Leo, apud Bucherium, p. 78—82: the Canon of Victorius, apud Bucherium, caput iv. p. 4: and the Prologus of Theophilus himself, premised to the cycle, apud Bucherium, p. 471—473; the last section of which ascertains the date of the cycle accordingly, A. D. 380. This Prologue is improperly represented as an Epistle to the emperor Theodosius; as it appears, in fact, to be a Preface or Proœm to the cycle, which must have accompanied it.

<sup>m</sup> Prologus, apud Bucherium, cap. ix. p. 9.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. capp. vii. viii. x. pp. 7. 9.



immediately prior to the council of Constantinople, as well as the first consulate of Theodosius : and at the council, the office of calculating the passovers for the rest of the Christian world was first deputed to the church of Alexandria, and at the instance of the reigning emperor the cycle was first compiled.

It is a striking confirmation of this conclusion, that when the Epistle of Ambrose, before referred to, was written, A. D. 386, five years after the council, it was already the practice for the astronomers of Alexandria to calculate, the church of Alexandria to define, (or as the Greek church expresses it, *καὶ νομίσαι*,) and the bishop of Rome to notify, the time of the observance of Easter. For thus does he observe, with reference to the occasion of that Epistle, which was a question concerning the Easter of the ensuing year, A. D. 387, about which some difficulty still remained: *Operum ii. 882. D. E. Epistola xxiii. §. 8 : Unde necesse fuit, quia etiam post Ægyptiorum supputationes, et Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ definitiones, episcopi quoque Romanæ Ecclesiæ, per litteras plerique meam adhuc expectant sententiam, quid existimem scribere de die paschæ. nam licet futuri diei paschæ inciderit quæstio ; tamen etiam in reliquum quid tenendum videatur, aperimus ; si qua quæstio talis incurrerit\*.* The first section of this paragraph proves very clearly all that we have assumed with respect to what was now the practice ; viz. for the church of Alexandria and the bishop of Rome, in conjunction, to fix the

\* The above is copied from the Benedictine text ; but I cannot help thinking the sense would appear more clearly, if the comma were put after *litteras*, and not after *Ecclesiæ* : and I am also inclined to suspect the *per* before *litteras* to be an interpolation of the text ; and that it

should stand without it, “*episcopi quoque Romanæ Ecclesiæ litteras,*” &c. The definition was one thing, and the making that known *per litteras* was another. The former was done by the Alexandrine see, the latter by the Roman pontiff.

time of Easter, and to notify it to the rest of the Christian world. It is not less remarkable that there is no proof in this Epistle of the existence of such a practice at an earlier date; but every presumption to the contrary. Occasions are mentioned, as past events, when the Roman or Latin church observed Easter, at such a time, and the Alexandrian at such another: see §. 14\*. 17. 21. It is manifest, however, that they are mentioned as instances of each of these churches doing one and the same thing, and so far in concert—but each in its own way, and so far independent of the other. It is not observed of any of these instances that the Ægyptians had signified they *should* observe; only that they *had* observed—the Easter in question, at such and such a time. And nothing was more common than for one church, by way of intimating its Christian unity with another, to give notice to it that it had kept such and such a festival of the common faith, more especially that of Easter, at such and such a time.

It is another confirmation of the same conjecture, that after the publication of Theophilus' cycle, not less than five years, but probably not much more, later than the date of the council, that cycle appears to have been considered, even by the bishops of Rome, in lieu of the usual annual notification of the calculation of Easter, otherwise to have been expected from the church of Alexandria; as indeed it might. It is certain at least, from the letter of Pope Leo before referred to, that this cycle had been in use at Rome, for the purpose in-

\* The two Easters here in particular alluded to, Æræ Diocletianæ 89 and 93, A. D. 373 and 377, are the very two, quoted, among other cases in point, by Proterius, bishop of Alexandria, in his reply to the

Epistle of Pope Leo, A. D. 453; written, as we have observed, in reference to the approaching Easter of A. D. 455. Vide Bucherium, p. 84, 85. See also, *supra*, page 681.

tended by it, ever since it had been received; and still was so when the Epistle was written. For thus it is he expresses himself about Easter, A. D. 453, in which the Epistle was written; and about Easter, A. D. 454 and A. D. 455, with reference to the last of which it was written, as kept, or about to be kept at Rome, according to that cycle°. *Cujus complexionis septuagesimus et quartus est annus; in quo pridie Idus Aprilis sanctum Pascha celebravimus. sequenti vero anno, pridie nonas Aprilis, eadem, propitio Deo, erit habenda festivitas: sicut regulariter centenariæ annorum rationis ordo declarat. sed in anno, qui erit septuagesimus sextus, Paschæ dies invenietur adscriptus, quem a Passione Domini nullius exempli, nullius constitutionis admittit auctoritas\*, &c.*

It is very clear then from these testimonies, that up to the seventy-fourth year of the cycle of Theophilus, A. D. 453, Easter had been kept at Rome in conformity to it; and after the seventy-fourth year, from A. D. 453, that it would continue to be so kept still, save when such and such a difficulty as that which occasioned this Epistle might occur to interfere with it: the difficulty in question being that in the 76th year of the cycle, A. D. 455, Easter day was noted for viii. Kal. Maias, April 24, one day later than the last of the paschal limits, which in the opinion of Leo were admissible, ix. Kal. Maias, or April 23; a difficulty, which after all was overruled in consequence of the letter of explanation from Proterius, contemporary bishop of Alexandria<sup>p</sup>.

I will assume it then now, as a probable conjecture,

\* He means, *Diem octavum* 24; within a day of the latest of *Kalendarum Maiarum*, or April the Alexandrine Terms.

° *Apud Bucherium*, p. 79. Cf. also p. 80, and the two following Epistles of Leo, one to Eudocia Augusta, the queen of the deceased emperor Theodosius II; the other to the legate of the see of Rome, for the time being, at Constantinople. *Apud Bucherium*, p. 80—82.      <sup>p</sup> *Apud Bucherium*, 82—88.

that the council of Constantinople, A. D. 381, not the council of Nice, A. D. 325, deputed to the church of Alexandria the task of reckoning, defining, or canonizing Easter; and to the bishops of Rome or the apostolic see, as it was called, the privilege of notifying it by their circular Epistles to the rest of the church\*. With respect to the exact date of the publi-

\* An objection, perhaps, may lie to this conclusion, from the sequel of the passage quoted above from the Prologus of Cyril, Bucherius, 481, 482: *Quod cum per multa sæcula pariter custodissent; . . . down to, essetque magna confusio in omni Ecclesia, Prætorio, vel Palatio: Theodosius Imperator religiosissimus, . . . sanctum Theophilum . . . suis litteris conrogavit, ut sacramentum Paschæ . . . disserere sibi dirigere dignaretur*: where he is giving an account of the occasion of the composition of the cycle of Theophilus. *Quod cum per multa sæcula, &c.* if referred to what was last mentioned, viz. the commission deputed to the church of Alexandria, can hardly be understood of a commission given a few years before. But the truth is, it is not to be so referred; it is to be understood of the passover or Easter generally. The passage indeed is very corrupt: but so much of its true sense is still apparent as to shew that the antecedent of the *quod* is Pascha; and the fact generally meant to be asserted is this, that though for many ages the church had kept Easter alike, at last there grew up so much difference and so much perplexity about it, that neither church, nor prætorium, nor palace, knew when or how to ob-

serve it, until Theodosius requested Theophilus to put a stop to this uncertainty for ever, by compiling a cycle which should be of perpetual use.

There is in Bucherius, p. 480, a letter, attributed to Pope Innocentius the First, and written, A. D. 414, to Aurelius, bishop of Carthage; which also shews that it was now the practice for the bishop or pope of Rome to notify Easter to the rest of the church, before it could be duly observed. This year, it seems, the 16th of the moon was calculated for March 22; which implies that the 14th would fall on March 20. And the object of the letter is to consult Aurelius whether Easter should be declared for the 22nd or for the 29th of March. On this point the pope desires his advice; *Ut si nihil dispositioni nostræ resultat*, says he, who proposed to declare it for the 22d, *deliberatam paschalem diem, jam litteris ante, (ut moris est,) servandam suo tempore, præscribamus*.

It is very true, that, among the canons of the council held, upon occasion of the schism of the Donatists, by order of Constantine, and in the time of Pope Sylvester, (see Labbe, tom. i. 1421—1430) at Arelate, or Arles, A. D. 314, and commonly called the Concilium Arelatense



cation of the cycle of Theophilus, which it has been seen was distinct from the caput or ἀρχὴ of the cycle itself, it is of no consequence. It does not seem to have been known to Ambrose, when he wrote his Epistle to the bishops of Æmilia; and if that Epistle was written A. D. 386, and Theophilus became bishop of Alexandria only A. D. 385, this might be the case. I should be inclined to think it was compiled A. D. 385, immediately after the accession of Theophilus; for as it was calculated for 100 years, but bore date A. D. 380, it very probably consisted of five cycles of 19 years, or 95 years, bearing date from the first year of Theophilus' sitting, with the first five years of Theodosius, dated from his first consulate, A. D. 380—385, over and above; just as the cycle of Dionysius Exi-

Primum; which canons were twenty-two in number, and after the synod transmitted by letter to the pope, though as much it would seem for his information of what had been done, as for his approval and sanction; the first is, *Primo loco de observatione paschæ dominici, ut uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur (decrevimus scilicet,) et juxta consuetudinem litteras ad omnes tu dirigas.* This recognises it as a practice or consuetudo, already in being, A. D. 314, for the bishop of Rome to notify Easter by letter to the rest of the church; but by what authority he had heretofore done this, and to what extent, does not appear. The council of Arles was a partial council, composed of bishops from Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Africa only; all of whom acknowledged the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, long before the time when the churches of the East did the

same. It is described by the author of the Synodicon, No. xxx. as *σύνεδρος τοπικὴ*, accordingly; and therefore though it speaks of decreeing that Easter should be kept, *per omnem orbem*, at one season and on one day, and that the pope should direct or send letters, *juxta consuetudinem ad omnes*—it could make no law, like a general council, to be binding upon the *whole* church; though it might regulate for all that part of it which acknowledged the authority of the bishop of Rome, and which it represented itself, viz. the Western; composed of Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Africa. It is certain too that, at the time of the council of Nice, whether as the effect of this canon of Arles (which is very probable) or not, the western church did already observe one uniform rule in the celebration of Easter, though the eastern as yet did not. See *supra*, page 639.

guus, published A. D. 525, consisted of 95 years, or five cycles of 19 years, besides the last six years of Cyril's, of 95 years also, which bore date A. D. 437.

It might have been supposed that the testimony of Ambrose, which comes so near to the time of the council, and is so clear to the point, would have left no doubt upon the fact that a cycle of nineteen years was put forth by authority of the council of Nice: yet the fact has been called in question. There is a great difference between bearing testimony to the fact in general that the council prescribed a certain rule for the observance of Easter, and to the fact in particular that it published a paschal cycle of such and such a term of years. The latter is one of those things about which it would not be easy for a competent witness to be mistaken. A cycle of nineteen years is a tangible thing. It is something that might be produced and appealed to. It is a monument that would go down to posterity entire and total, and be at any time as real as at first. If Ambrose asserts that the council did put forth such a cycle, which he had himself seen and consulted, and which any of his contemporaries might see and consult also; it does not seem possible to doubt that it did.

When we consider the confusion prevalent in the church at the time of the council of Nice, and from thenceforward to the accession of Theodosius, A. D. 379, when tranquillity was first restored; when we take into account the opposition that was made to its decrees on other and much more important points—the multitude of councils held in the meanwhile, and the conflicting decisions come to at one time in comparison of another—it will not be surprising that a paschal cycle, though published with the sanction of the council of Nice, should not have obtained an universal or uniform reception all over the church. Yet there is reason

to believe that, in the church of Alexandria at least, this cycle was always acknowledged as of paramount authority; and that every calculation of Easter, subsequently made in that church, and under its directions, was made in the strictest conformity to the principles laid down by it.

There are other testimonies to the fact of the cycle in question, besides that of Ambrose, which I shall take the liberty of laying before the reader. The effect of these, combined with his, should be to satisfy the doubts of the most sceptical upon this subject. I will observe only, that I am indebted for them to Bucherius; though I consider them to lead to a very different inference from that which he himself is disposed to draw from them.

The first is supplied by an Epistle of Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, written before the month of December, or rather September, A. D. 443, to the council of Carthage, in answer first to a request of theirs, that he would furnish them with an authentic copy of the proceedings at the council of Nice<sup>a</sup>: secondly, with respect to the observance of Easter the next year, A. D. 444, which he notified to them would be at Alexandria, ix. Kalendas Maii<sup>\*r</sup>. After much

\* This passover or Easter too is quoted among the other cases in point, in the Epistle of Prote-rius, p. 85. *Æræ Diocletianæ* 160. A. D. 444. Cyril indeed did not live until the Easter in question, but died before it arrived. See also the letter of Paschasinus, apud Bucherium, p. 75. which treats of the same Easter. The same Epistle shews, that this Easter, A. D. 444, was the 63rd according to the Roman Rule, or Supputatio, bearing date from the consulate of An-

tonius and Syagrius, A. D. 382. This Roman Rule is not inconsistent with the Alexandrine, alluded to *supra*, p. 694. Both Rules or Supputationes might proceed *pari passu*, and both be used at Rome at once. It is remarkable, however, that this Romana Supputatio bears date the year after the council of Constantinople, A. D. 381. This too would imply that something passed at that council, of importance with respect to the determination of the Passover or

q Bucherius, p. 72.

r Bucherius, *loco citato*.

intermediate matter, he concludes<sup>s</sup>; *Scruteminique diligentissime, quæ ordinavit synodus Nicæna, Lunas xiv. omnium annorum per Decemnovennalem Cyclum, ut non fallamur in Luna primi Mensis, et celebremus pascha in sequenti Dominico . . . et constitutum est in omnibus synodis, præter synodum Gangrensem (A. D. 325) et Cæsariensem (A. D. 365.) ut non faceret ulla ecclesia, vel civitas, et omnis regio, contraria his quæ statuta sunt de pascha in Nicæno concilio. credite mihi, he continues, quod si non scripsisset synodus Nicæna Cyclum Lunarem primi Mensis, sufficeret cyclus lapidis Selenitis in Perside ad exemplum rationis paschalis; cujus candor interior cum luna primi mensis crescit et decrescit.* And this too it appears was done in answer to a query of theirs, and because they were previously in doubt, *De luna primi mensis in hoc anno.* He concludes, *Responsum est, ut opinor, omnibus quibus interrogastis me; et omnia scripta authentica synodi Nicænæ protuli.*

The next is contained in the Epistle of Proterius, bishop of Alexandria, contemporary with Leo; whose tragical end, A. D. 457. vi. Kal. Aprilis, on Good Friday itself, through the machinations of Timothy, surnamed *Ælurus* or the Cat, is related by Evagrius<sup>t</sup>, and Victor Tununensis. It refers to the question of the Easter of A. D. 455, as we have already observed; and was written in answer to Leo's Epistle to the emperor Marcian, A. D. 453. After much explanatory matter, relating to the proper paschal terms, supported by cases in point, which there is no necessity to repeat, he continues<sup>u</sup>, *Sed nonnulli, subtilitatem paschalis computi forsitan ignorantes, Judaicis seducti fabulis, Easter.* It is observable too, was compiled probably five years that it began the year after the before his. cycle of Theophilus; though it

<sup>s</sup> Bucherius, 73, 74.<sup>t</sup> E. H. ii. viii. 300 A—302 B. *Thesaurus Temporum*, Victor, *Chronicon*, p. 2. Cf. Theodore Lector, 552, 553.<sup>u</sup> Bucherius, p. 86.



æstimabunt nos in secundum mensem recedere, si festivitatem eatenus exigamus . . . . sed beatissimi Patres nostri, Cyclum Decemnovennalem certius affigentes, quem violari impossibile est, velut crepidinem ac fundamentum et regulam, hunc eundem Decemnovennalem Computum statuerunt. non juxta Judæorum nunc indoctas atque ineptas actiones (*margo*, rationes;) neque secundum exterorum putativam fictamque prudentiam; sed secundum gratiam Spiritus Sancti instituti, in revolutione sæpe memorati Decemnovennalis Circuli decimasquartas paschales Lunas diligentius annotarunt. He concludes<sup>w</sup>, Cognoscant itaque per tuam Sanctitatem, qui in illis partibus ambigunt, quod legitime per octavam indictionem Pascha peragimus. propterea enim scripsi, Patrum et in hoc ecclesiasticas formulas subsequens, et exinde occasiones rei hujus assumens: which after what has just been recited above, though indefinitely expressed in itself, will certainly bear to be understood of the same 19 years' cycle, put forth by the same authority (doubtless that of the council of Nice) as before.

Nowhere, however, is clearer testimony borne to the fact in question, than in the two Epistles of Dionysius Exiguus<sup>x</sup>, to whom the Christian world owes the introduction into use of the *Æra Vulgaris*, or A. D. reckoning of time; written one of them A. D. 525, and the other A. D. 526, but both *De Ratione Paschæ*, and intended as preliminary or as supplementary to Dionysius' paschal cycle of 95 years, which took up and continued Cyril's, *Ab anno Æræ Diocletianæ* 248, with the year before which the latter had expired.

At the outset of the First of these Epistles, speaking in the first person plural—he observes, *Paschalis festi rationem, quam multorum diu frequenter a nobis exposcit instantia, nunc adjuti precibus vestris explicare*

<sup>w</sup> Bucherius, p. 87.

<sup>x</sup> Apud Bucherium, 485—493.

curavimus : sequentes per omnia venerabilium trecentorum et octodecim Pontificum, qui apud Nicæam civitatem Bithyniæ contra vesaniam Arrii convenerunt, etiam rei hujus absolutam veramque sententiam. qui quartasdecimas Lunas paschalis observantiæ per novemdecim annorum redeuntem semper in se circulum stabiles immotasque fixerunt : quæ cunctis sæculis eodem quo repetuntur exordio sine varietatis labuntur excursu. hanc autem regulam præfati circuli non tam peritia singulari, quam sancti Spiritus illustratione sanxerunt, et velut anchoram firmam et stabilem huic rationi Lunarum dimensionis apposuisse cernuntur.

If Dionysius then is entitled to belief—that a paschal cycle of nineteen years was put forth by the council of Nice—a cycle of acknowledged authority, and so constructed as to be of perpetual use—must be inferred as a notorious and unquestionable fact.

After noticing the errors of those, who either from arrogance or from ignorance had neglected this cycle, and proposed others of their own, he proceeds<sup>y</sup> ; Sed Alexandrinæ urbis Archiepiscopus beatus Athanasius, qui etiam ipse Nicæno concilio tunc sancti Alexandri pontificis Diaconus, et in omnibus adjutor interfuit ; et deinceps venerabilis Theophilus, et Cyrillus, ab hac Synodi veneranda constitutione minime desciverunt. imo potius eundem decemnovennalem circulum, qui *Enneacaidecaëterida* Græco vocabulo nuncupatur, sollicite retinentes, Paschalem cursum nullis diversitatibus interpolasse monstrantur : instances of which he subjoins, in the cycle of Theophilus of one hundred years, and that of Cyril of ninety-five—of both of which we have already given an account—and in both of which, says he, their respective authors, Hanc sancti Concilii traditionem ad observandas quartasdecimas Lunas

<sup>y</sup> Bucherius, p. 485.

paschales per omnia servaverunt \* : and in like man-

\* It is very true, that, in neither of the Prologi to these two cycles, is any mention made of a nineteen years' cycle, or cycle of any other kind, put forth by the council of Nice—to which they might be represented as conformed. But this is no objection ; if, as Dionysius asserts, the principles, on which they were constructed, were absolutely the same with those of the cycle of the council. There can be no doubt of this last fact. It is far from improbable even that both the cycle of Theophilus, and that of Cyril, were the cycle of the council, adjusted to longer periods merely. The cycle of Cyril the author represents himself as an epitome of that of Theophilus ; and being a cycle of ninety-five years, it consisted of five cycles of nineteen years. If the cycle of Theophilus was one of one hundred years, it consisted of the same, with five supernumerary years, of which an explanation has been already given: and if it was one, as Cyril represents, of 418 years, it consisted of twenty-two cycles of nineteen years, for  $19 \times 22 = 418$ .

The testimony of Athanasius is appealed to above, as well as that of Theophilus, and Cyril. Athanasius more than once bears witness to the fact, that the cause of the Nicene council was the paschal as well as the Arian controversy in general. See his *Epistola ad Afros Episcopos*, cap. 1. *Operum* i. 892. A—E, and *Ibid.* 719. B—E. his *Epistola De Synodis*, cap. 5. The subject of this last Epistle is the two synods, held at the same

time, the one at Ariminum in Italy, the other at Seleucia in Isauria, A. D. 359. The latter of these passages clearly gives us to understand that decrees or regulations concerning Easter or the Passover were agreed to, and published by the council; as well as about the common and orthodox faith ; but that by way of distinction between them—the resolutions or rules relating to Easter were headed by, *περὶ μὲν τοῦ πάσχα ἔδοξε τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα*: the Nicene Creed, or declaration of the common faith, by, *οὕτως πιστεύει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*.

As to Theophilus, his cycle must have been so closely in conformity to the principles laid down by the Nicene council, that it might almost be considered the cycle of the council itself. Had not this been the case, it would scarcely have happened that Gennadius, *De Viris Illustribus*, cap. xxxiii. p. 17. Apud Fabricium, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, in his short memoir of Theophilus, would allude to his cycle as follows: *Paschalem etiam recursum, quem magna apud Nicæam synodus post nonaginta et quinque annos agi in tempore et die et luna secundum suum statum invenerat, additis quibusdam ipsius festivitatis rationibus, et expositionibus, Theodosio obtulit.* The cycle of the council was certainly one of nineteen years only. But it was a cycle of nineteen no doubt easily to be accommodated to a cycle of ninety-five—which is but five cycles of nineteen in succession. If 'Theophilus' cycle exhibited

ner, in his own paschal cycle, which he was about to propose, and which was intended to take up Cyril's, and like that to consist of ninety-five years, or five cycles of nineteen years, bearing date from the year of the Nativity, and no longer from the æra of Diocletian, or æra of the martyrs, he professed to have done the same; that is, to have ordered and arranged the whole, *Juxta normam ejusdem pontificis* (that is, Cyril) *imo potius sæpe dicti Nicæni concilii*.

It is manifest, then, that Dionysius entertained no doubt of the fact for which we are contending—the publication of a cycle of nineteen years by the council of Nice—a cycle which had given the law to all similar calculations of any authority in the church, from that time forward to his own. The same thing follows from his account of the *Mensis Novorum*, as fixed by the council also. After quoting Exodus xii. 2. 18. Deuteronomy xvi. 1, &c. in reference to this subject, he proceeds<sup>2</sup>: *Tanta hac auctoritate divina claruit, primo mense, decimoquarto die ad vesperum, usque ad vigesimum primum, festivitatem Paschalem debere celebrari. sed quia, mensis hic unde sumat exordium, vel ubi terminetur, evidenter ibi non legitur; præfati trecenti et octodecim Pontifices, antiqui moris observantiam, et exinde a sancto Moyse traditam, sicut in septimo libro Ecclesiasticæ refertur Historiæ, solertius investigantes; ab octavo idus Martii, (March 8,) usque in diem Nonarum Aprilium (April 5.) natam Lunam facere dixerunt primi mensis exordium; et a duodecimo die kalendarum Aprilium (March 21.) usque in decimumquartum kalendas Maias (April 18.) Lunam*

five of the cycles of the council,  
so adjusted and arranged as at  
the end of ninety-five years to

recur *de novo*, Gennadius might  
well describe even that of the  
council accordingly.

<sup>2</sup> Bucherius, p. 487.



decimamquartam solertius inquirendam: quæ, quia cum solis cursu non æqualiter volvitur, tantorum dierum spatiis occursum vernalis æquinoctii consequatur: qui a duodecimo kalendarum Aprilium die, (March 21,) cunctorum orientalium sententiis, et maxime Ægyptiorum, qui calculationis præ omnibus gnari sunt, specialiter annotatur. in quo etiam, si Luna decimaquarta sabbato contigerit, (quod semel in nonaginta quinque annis accidere manifestum est) sequenti die Dominico, id est, undecimo kalendas Aprilis, (March 22.) Luna decimaquinta, celebrandum Pascha eadem sancta Synodus sine ambiguitate firmavit. hoc modis omnibus admonens, ut ante duodecesimum kalendas Aprilis (March 21) Lunam decimamquartam paschalis festi nullus inquireret; quam non primi mensis sed ultimi esse constaret.

The limits of the Mensis Novorum on the one hand, as thus defined, from March 8 to April 5; and those of the lunar paschal fourteenth on the other, as neither earlier than the 21st of March, nor later than the 18th of April; and the corresponding limits of Easter Day, as under no circumstances earlier than March 22, nor later than April 25—describe the rule which has ever been in force, since the time of the council of Nice, with the name and under the sanction of its authority. And that they describe the Alexandrine rule also, the rule which had the sanction of Theophilus at least, and was observed in his cycle, any one may see from the Prologus to that cycle itself<sup>a</sup>. This passage of Dionysius is particularly valuable, on another account; because it appeals to the source from which he obtained the knowledge of these facts; viz. the seventh book of ec-

<sup>a</sup> Apud Bucherium, 472, 473. §. 3, 4. Cf. the Præfatio of Victorius, apud eundem, §. iv. pp. 4, 5.

clesiastical history—which, though no otherwise described, is evidently spoken of as an authority which might be referred to absolutely, and would be understood if it were \*.

Clear references to the same cycle, as something in existence or accessible still, occur in what he proceeds to mention next, respecting the lunar epact, or true measure of the difference between the lunar and solar year; which, says he, the Egyptian calculation always reckoned at eleven days; *Ut ita demum Lunaris emensio rationi solis adæquetur. quod verissimum esse, atque certissimum*, he continues, *suprascriptorum Patrum sententia comprobatur. qui juxta hanc Ægyptiorum calculationem, quartasdecimas Lunas paschalis observantiæ tradiderunt*: only, as he remarks, persons who were not aware of the minute exactness of such calculations, and sanctioned by such an authority, *Tantæ subtilitatis, sive potius sanctionis ignari*, calculating on principles of their own, were apt to fall into erroneous results: *Unde plerumque contingit, ut quando sæpedicti Patres decimamquartam Lunam ponunt, eam isti decimamquintam suspicentur: et quæ vigesima prima est, vigesimam secundam esse pronuntient. sed nobis, he continues, quibus amor et cura est Christianæ religionis,*

\* The same kind of reference to ecclesiastical history ἀπλῶς appears in the Epistle of Cyril's to the synod of Carthage, A. D. 443, beforementioned; accompanied, as we observed, by a copy of the Acta of the council of Nice; *Quæ et in Ecclesiastica Historia*, says he, *requirentes invenietis*<sup>b</sup>. The mention of the seventh book of this history in Dionysius, shews that he had

some particular history of that description in his mind: whether one of his own, or some other, the best known and most generally received of his time, I do not undertake to say: further than whatsoever it was, it must have contained an account of the paschal cycle of the council, which no extant history does.

<sup>b</sup> Apud Bucherium, p. 72.

nulla prorsus oportet ratione discedere; sed præfixam ab his Paschalem regulam sincerissima convenit observatione servare <sup>c</sup> \*.

Similar testimony is contained in his second Epistle, the date of which it appears was A. D. 526: after the publication of his cycle the year before. The exordium is as follows: *Observantiæ Paschalis regulam, diu sancto ac venerabili Petronio episcopo commonente, tandem stilo commendare compulsus, omnem deinceps diversitatis oppugnationem sublatam fore credideram; maxime quod sanctorum trecentorum octodecim Antistitum, qui apud Nicæam convenerant, auctoritatem totis nisibus insinuare curaveram. qui in ipso concilio venerando decemnovennalem cyclum regulariter affigentes, quartasdecimas Lunas paschalis observantiæ per omnia tempora legi suæ revolutionis immobiles annotaverunt.* There cannot be a clearer description of a perpetual paschal cycle of nineteen years. He proceeds to mention the occasion of the resumption of the subject, and why he had written this second Epistle; which it seems was the production from the

\* Dionysius appeals in the next place to the first canon of the council of Antioch, A. D. 341<sup>d</sup>, which reinforced the paschal regulations of the council of Nice. He calls this the seventy-ninth canon; meaning the seventy-ninth in his own Codex or Collection of Canons: as indeed it is—the first of the twenty-five canons of this council standing there as the seventy-ninth of the collection, and the last as the 103rd. He concludes, at the end of all by another reference to Ecclesiastical history, for the truth of what he had as-

serted, though in more general terms than before<sup>e</sup>: *Quod si testimonia tantorum sacerdotum forsitan quis obstinata mente despexerit, etiam in Historia Ecclesiastica paria breviter intimata reperiet; multorumque relatione Pontificum, et maxime beati Athanasii, cujus supra meminimus, hæc eadem vulgata cognoscet.* And he asserts that the same testimony was contained in the Epistle of Proterius to pope Leo, which he had himself translated from the Greek, and annexed to his present work—as indeed we have seen it was.

<sup>c</sup> Apud Bucherium, 487, 488.  
iii. v. 501. C—503. B.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Socrates, ii. viii. 84, 85. Sozomen,

<sup>e</sup> Bucherius, p. 489.

archives at Rome, of the scripta, writings, or report of Paschasinus, a former bishop—*Quem constat, he observes, pro persona beatissimi Papæ Leonis sancto Chalcedonensi præsedisse concilio, ad eundem Papam per idem tempus directa—quæ Sanctis Patribus evidenti ratione consentiunt:* and because of this agreement, he had been induced to insert them in his present work, *Ut hujus etiam viri, says he, testimonio niteremur, qui manifesto miraculo venerabilium Pontificum Paschalia decreta confirmat.* The rest of the Epistle is taken up with the explanation of a question arising out of the mention of common years and embolismi or intercalations, made in these documents; and in answer to an inquiry which had been proposed; whether the Paterna Regula, as he calls it, that is, the rule of the council of Nice, as laid down and observed in their cycle, agreed with the embolismorum ratio, and that with it, or not. This Epistle is given by Bucherius, page 75—77\*.

\* If the Epistle, attributed to pope Sylvester, in answer to one ascribed to the council of Nice, which we alluded to *supra*, p. 676, were a genuine document; then the mention of *Cycli Paschæ*, in that Epistle, (Labbe, ii. 59. A.) might perhaps be added to the other testimonies in favour of the fact of that cycle of the council, for which we have been contending. There is little doubt, however, that both these Epistles are spurious. And as to the allusion in question, it will be explained by a reference to the *Concilium Romanum* ii. supposed to have been held, A. D. 324, under the same pope Sylvester, (Labbe i. 1547, caput ii.) This concilium is altogether

spurious. Whether the same opinion is to be pronounced on the *Concilium Romanum* iii. also supposed to have been held under pope Sylvester, A. D. 325, after the council of Nice, and in confirmation of it by the authority of the apostolic see (more especially in what related to the observance of Easter, see Labbe, ii. 411. A.) may be more doubtful. Yet I should think this spurious too. Whether Pope Sylvester could have been alive when this council is supposed to have been held by him, is a question on which we need not enter. Some ecclesiastical historians, as we have seen, make Julius bishop of Rome at the time of the council of Nice; and a pope



From these various testimonies, the fact of the publication of a cycle of nineteen years by the council of Nice, seems necessarily to be deducible: and from the description given of it, something like an idea of the nature of the cycle itself may be so far collected, that we may fairly conclude it had two objects in view, and it was directed to two purposes at least; one of them, to determine the new moons, or *νουμηνίαι*, of the Mensis Novorum, the other, the fourteenth of the same moons, for every year in succession, through a cycle of nineteen in all. The former of these objects was effected, by fixing the earliest possible *νουμηνία* in question, to the 8th of March, and the latest to the 5th of April: the latter, by fixing the earliest possible fourteenth to the 21st of March, and the latest to the 18th of April. Subject to these limits, it calculated the Mensis Novorum, and the fourteenth of the moon, through every year of the nineteen. The new moon on any day between March 8, and April 5, was the *νουμηνία* of the Mensis Novorum, or the paschal new moon in question; and the fourteenth of the moon, on any day between March 21 and April 18, was the paschal fourteenth corresponding to it. On this point, however, a little explanation is necessary. A lunar *νυχθήμερον* embracing parts of two civil days, one answering to the evening, the other to the morning—the age of the moon might be reckoned apparently from either. But the rule of the council was to reckon from the latter. When it spoke of the lunar fourteenth, it meant the fourteenth *exeunte*; and when it spoke of the *νουμηνία*, or new moon of the Mensis Novorum, it meant the lunar first, *exeunte*. This is evident from its fixing the earliest called Marcus came between A. D. 325, when this council is said to have been held in his presence.

date of the *vousnyia* to the 8th of March, and the earliest date of the fourteenth to the 21st—between which there could be but thirteen days and nights complete. Hence, if the 8th was understood of the first of the moon *ineunte*, the 21st must be understood of the fourteenth *ineunte*—but if the former was understood of the first *exeunte*, the latter would be so too. And this alone could be agreeable to the mind of the council. For supposing the case to occur, that what it called the lunar fourteenth fell on March 21, and both on the Saturday; still according to its regulations, March 22, the Sunday following, must be kept as Easter Day. If so, the lunar fifteenth fell on the Sunday: for what it called the lunar fourteenth could never fall upon Sunday, and be kept as Easter Day. The lunar fourteenth, therefore, to which it alluded, was always the fourteenth *exeunte*; and the lunar first the same. The cycle was constructed accordingly. It shewed the lunar first *exeunte* for every year of the nineteen, between March 8 inclusive, and April 5 inclusive; and the lunar fourteenth *exeunte* for the same, between March 21 inclusive, and April 18. And it was accompanied with this direction, that on whatsoever day of the week the lunar fourteenth, so determined, fell; the Sunday after was to be kept as Easter Day. If this day was Saturday, the next day would be Easter Day; if it was Sunday, the seventh day after it would be so. In the first of these cases, Easter would be kept on the fifteenth of the moon *exeunte*; and in the second, on the twenty-first *exeunte*: and the most remarkable case of either kind, for both of which too especial provision seems to have been made in the cycle—would be first, when the lunar fourteenth fell on the vernal equinox, March 21, and both on the Saturday; and secondly, when it fell on the 18th of April, and both on the Sunday. In the first of these

cases, Easter would be kept at its earliest possible time, so as not to anticipate the vernal equinox, viz. March 22—and in the second, at its latest, so as not to exceed the 21st *νυχθήμερον* of the moon, April 25.

It is a curious coincidence, that A. D. 326, which we have supposed the first year of the cycle—the mean lunar fourteenth as thus determined, expired at midnight, April 2. Consequently the mean lunar first, similarly determined, began at midnight, March 19. This, then, would be the ἀρχὴ or numenia of the Mensis Novorum for the first year of the cycle; a date approximating so closely to March 20, that it must be identified with it. In this case, the numenia of the Mensis Novorum, for the first year of the cycle, which was no doubt carefully noted upon it, would bear date from the first day of the week. The lunar fourteenth, corresponding to it, would be noted for the Saturday: and the Sunday after would be Easter day\*.

\* We have had frequent occasion, in the course of the above discussions, to allude to the Paschal cycle of Anatolius. It is much to be regretted that the whole of the original work on this subject does not exist in the Greek. As to the document which is still extant in the shape of the Latin version, apud Bucherium, 439—449, it is a very difficult thing to pronounce an opinion how far it is genuine, or not: yet I can scarcely persuade myself that a composition, which exhibits so much ignorance on some points, and so much contradiction on others, taken as a whole, can have been the production of Anatolius, who was a native of Alexandria, and brought up in the mathematical school of that city; to whose proficiency

in the sciences, which he was likely to learn there, so high a testimony is borne; and the only specimen of whose actual work *De Pascha*, which can be depended upon as genuine, is a model of exactness of thought and precision of language upon the topics of which it treats. On the contrary, either the whole of this translation is to be rejected as falsely ascribed to Anatolius, or if it contains any thing which was actually his, it is mixed up and interpolated with much other matter, which is not.

It is not very probable that a native of Alexandria, and a bishop of Laodicea in Syria, and consequently one who was more closely connected with the Oriental than with the Western church; would appear inclined

to defer so much to the authority of the bishops of Rome, as the successors of Peter and Paul, as the author of this document seems to be<sup>f</sup>. It is improbable too, that an Oriental writer upon the subject in question, having occasion to notice the objections to his own opinions, and the quarters in which they were entertained, would confine himself by name to the objections of Gallican Christians, or of those of Africa, as this author does<sup>g</sup>. It might be inferred from these two peculiarities, that the author of this document was a western, more probably than an eastern Christian; and wrote in the vicinity of Gaul or Africa, rather than in that of Asia or Syria.

Be this, however, as it may; still it is unquestionable, that between the principles laid down in the preliminary observations of the Translation, from page 439. §. i. to 446. §. vii. and the Paschal Diagram, which is proposed at the end, page 447. §. viii. to 448. §. xi. there is very great inconsistency; more than can possibly be conceived of so correct a writer as Anatolius. And this being the case, if the Translation contains any thing really borrowed from Anatolius, but mixed up with other matter which is not, we may fairly presume that where the principles laid down in the preliminary treatise are at variance with the results exhibited in the Paschal Diagram; the former may be Anatolius' own, but the latter cannot.

The perusal of this dissertation will satisfy any one, that no writer on the subject of the Paschal controversy could be more strongly convinced, than the au-

thor of this document, of the necessity of three concurrent conditions to the proper time of the celebration of Easter; the transit or passage of the equinox, the full of the moon, and the day of the resurrection, or Sunday. On each of these points the Diagram is more or less at variance with the principles previously laid down. For first, with respect to the day of the week—though the practice of the churches of Asia, which celebrated Easter on any day of the week on which the full moon after the equinox happened to fall, is said to be founded upon the authority of the apostle St. John; it is quite clear that in the opinion of the author of this treatise, no day was considered fit to be kept as Easter day, but the day of the resurrection, or first day of the week. It appears, however, from the Paschal Diagram, that according to the scheme there proposed, Easter day might fall indifferently on any day of the week whatever. Again, with reference to the full of the moon—Anatolius was no quartodeciman; and could never have fixed his paschal moon to an earlier age than the fifteenth: yet the author of this scheme, in two several instances, notes it down for the fourteenth. Thirdly, with respect to the transit of the equinox—it may be collected from the preliminary observations, that the author scarcely considered it sufficient that the sun should just be past the equinoctial point, but that four or five days at least should have elapsed from the time of his entering the first point of Aries, to the time when Easter was

<sup>f</sup> Page 444. §. vi.

<sup>g</sup> Page 443. §. iv. 447. §. xi.



properly to be celebrated, subject to the condition of the equinox past. He contends strongly for the preponderance of light over dark, at the time in question; and such a preponderance as must be sensible, and could not be the effect of less than four or five days' transit of the equinox at least. In this respect, the principles of Anatolius were more strict even than those of the council of Nice: according to which, if the full of the moon fell out on the equinox, March 21, Easter might still be kept on the 22nd. But, according to Anatolius, Easter could not be kept earlier than March 23, though the sun entered the first point of Aries on March 19: and then only when the full moon fell upon March 22: which is quite in consistency with *his* principles, as even then the true physical equinox would be four or five days past. See p. 442. §. ii. In the Paschal Diagram, on the contrary, though the equinox is fixed to March 25, (viii. Kal. Apriles,) yet the observance of Easter is permitted as early as vi. Kalends of April, (March 27,) a date which is twice exhibited there; once in the seventh, and again in the nineteenth year of the cycle.

It appears, too, that the paschal limits recognised by it are vi. Kal. Apriles, March 27, on the one hand, and ix. Kalends of May, April 23, on the other: that is to say, Easter day according to it might be as early as March 27, or as late as April 23; but not earlier than the one, nor later than the other. The last of these is agreeable to the Latin rule, even after the equinox had been fixed to March 21;

and the former might possibly be so, when the equinox was supposed still to fall on March 25. But they are both at variance with the limits of the council of Nice; which nevertheless there is no doubt were agreeable to the Alexandrine rule: and it is very improbable that Anatolius, brought up in the school of Alexandria, would prefer any rule to that.

In other respects, it is scarcely conceivable of Anatolius that he could have been ignorant of the fact, that in determining the Julian dates of his new and full moons, for the several years of his Paschal cycle, and the days of the week on which they would respectively fall, the leap year, as often as it recurred, was to be taken into account; and that in a cycle of nineteen years, there could not be less than four such years, and might be as many as five: yet the author of this Diagram has allowed for no leap years but two, once in the seventh, and again in the seventeenth year of the cycle.

It is equally inconceivable that though Anatolius might suppose the full moons of his cycle would return to the same days of the month, in nineteen years, he should not be aware that the dominical or Sunday letters of the same would not come round again, in less than 532 years; which is the period made up of the Metonic cycle of nineteen, and the solar cycle of twenty-eight years, multiplied into each other. Yet the author of this Diagram takes it for granted that the full moons would return every nineteen years to the same days of the week, as naturally as to the same days of the

month. And truly, upon his principles, it is made to appear they would: for as he sets out with the twenty-sixth of the moon, on the equinox, March 25, and both on the Saturday; so he ends with the fifteenth of the moon, on the equinox, March 25, and both on the Friday. And as his rule of computing is to add to the age of the moon, on the equinox, March 25, the year before—the moon's epact at the end of the year, and so to obtain its age on the equinox in the next; it is manifest that the age of the moon being fifteen, on Friday, March 25, in the nineteenth year of the cycle—it will be  $15 + 11$ , or 26, on Saturday, March 25, in the twentieth year of the cycle: that is, the cycle will have come round in the twentieth year to the point where it began in the first.

Upon the whole, then, I see no alternative but to conclude that this Translation of Anatolius' work *De Pascha* has been tampered with and corrupted, if it is not to be pronounced altogether a forgery. The only authentic portion of his actual Canon, then, which we can be said to possess, is the fragment preserved by Eusebius. And doubts have been cast upon the fidelity even of this. Eusebius has been suspected of meddling with it; more particularly with falsifying the ἀρχὴ or caput of the cycle—the date of the vernal equinox, according to Anatolius—whatsoever that was.

The arguments of Bucherius, in support of this charge, are given in his Commentary on the Canon, *caput secundum*, page 453, sqq. The first only is

taken from the Greek fragment, still extant in Eusebius: the other two presuppose the authenticity of the Latin translation, of which there is good reason to doubt. Bucherius argues that if Anatolius had fixed the equinox to the 22nd of March, he could never have said that the sun was not only arrived in the equinoctial sign, by that day, but ἤδη τετάρτην ἡμέραν ἐν αὐτῷ διαπορευόμενος. The words of this passage are misconstrued by him; more particularly the sense of διαπορευόμενος. We have seen, *supra* p. 666, that the true date of the equinox might be computed, A. D. 277, to be March 19; in which case it might truly be said that the sun was already διαπορευόμενος—making his progress through the vernal sign—for the fourth day, on March 22; as having been three days in it complete, and part, it might be, of a fourth. As to the other two arguments, they both depend on the authenticity of the Latin translation; especially the second, which Bucherius calls his Palmary argument; viz. the rule of computation in the Paschal Diagram, where the vernal equinox is reckoned throughout to be March 25 not March 22. This is very true; but it happens unfortunately that the Diagram is exactly that part of the whole of the document ascribed to Anatolius, the genuineness of which there is the greatest reason to distrust. As to the other argument, where Anatolius speaks of the extension of the paschal limits to three days before the equinox<sup>h</sup>, in order to condemn

<sup>h</sup> Page 444, §. v.

it, and in which Bucherius supposes him to refer to a decision of the council of Cæsarea, under Theophilus, bishop of that see, contemporary with Victor, bishop of Rome, on the occasion referred to by Eusebius<sup>i</sup> or Jerome<sup>k</sup>, and of the proceedings of which we have an account in the Epistle De Pascha, ascribed to Philip<sup>l</sup>; it is very true, that according to that account the paschal term was enlarged from viii. kal. Apriles, or March 25, to xi. kalends of April, or March 22<sup>m</sup>; but the context of Anatolius shews he could not be referring to that decision, but to some rule of the Gallican computists, as he calls them, or of the Gallic church in general. He is speaking of none but these in §. iv: and therefore of none but these can the further remark in §. v. which obviously refers to §. iv. be properly understood. The sense of the passage, however, admits of explanation consistently with Anatolius' principles, by merely supposing him to mean, that whereas the earliest paschal limit, which he would allow of, was March 23—the date of the sensible equinox—the earliest admitted by these computists was three days before; March 20, the date of the physical or insensible equinox. Anatolius, we have seen, might have allowed the passover to be celebrated as soon after the equinox as the twenty-third, but not so early as the twentieth.

Bucherius imagines no better a motive why Eusebius should have tampered with the numbers of Anatolius at all, than the meddling disposition of the

Græculi, as he calls them, and the spirit of forgery inseparable from heresy, of which, says he, Baronius clearly convicts Eusebius. And as to the particular object which he supposes him to have had in view, by the alteration, viz. to reconcile the authority of Anatolius with that of the council of Nice—such an object, if he really proposed it, would have required him to alter the date from March 25 to March 21—for the vernal equinox was fixed by the council of Nice to March 21, not March 22. The supposed anxiety of Eusebius, that Anatolius should not even seem to contradict the council, is ridiculous. Eusebius might very well know, on the principle of the anticipation of the equinox, that, if the vernal equinox was March 22, A. D. 277, it might be March 21, A. D. 325, and no contradiction between the two things at all. And as to his regard for the authority of the council on this particular question; did he not himself publish a cycle of nineteen years, a very short time after the council? which, however much it might resemble the cycle of the council, could not be entirely the same; and no doubt, in the opinion of its author, was even an improvement upon it.

Bucherius, it is true, is not the first person who ventured to entertain this suspicion. Others had done so before the time of Bede. But Bede did not believe it; and a writer more ancient than Bede, and much nearer to the time of Eusebius, Victor of Capua, had been unable to detect the fraud in

<sup>i</sup> E. H. v. 23.

<sup>k</sup> De Scripturis Ecclesiasticis, xliii: iv. Pars iia. 114.

<sup>l</sup> Apud Bucherium, 469—471.

<sup>m</sup> Vide page 471.



question. Bede assigns very good reasons for disbelieving the truth of the charge; and he quotes the authority not only of Victor, bishop of Capua, but also of Dionysius Exiguus, both to the same effect; the former of whom, in his work *De Pascha*, and the latter in his *Epistolæ Paschales*, had cited the passage of Anatolius, exactly as we have it at present<sup>a</sup>. It is very conceivable that, if the Latin version of Anatolius' genuine work, so different from the original, had once got into circulation, as it must have done very early, (and Bede himself was acquainted with it,) those who read that work, under the idea of its being genuine, concluding, as they well might do, that it recognised no date of the vernal equinox, especially in the Paschal cycle, but the 25th of March, would be at a loss to reconcile that date with the very different one in the Greek extract, apud Eusebium; and therefore would naturally conjecture that Anatolius must originally have written March 25, and Eusebius have altered it, either purposely or accidentally, to March 22.

There can be no question, however, that long before the time of Anatolius, the astronomers of the day were aware of the inaccuracy of the Julian date of the vernal equinox, March 25; and why should not Anatolius, brought up in the most scientific school of the time, be aware of this fact too? And if so, what inducement could he have any longer to represent the vernal equinox by an

old and exploded date? The Apostolical Constitutions date the vernal equinox on March 22, as well as he; and the Apostolical Constitutions are either older than Anatolius, or contemporary with him, or later than he. If older than Anatolius, or even if contemporary with him, they must have been written, or might have been written, independent of him; and if, as so written, they could fix the vernal equinox to March 22, why should not he? If later than Anatolius, they might have borrowed the date from him, it is true; but even if they did, that would be an argument of the correctness of the date, and the very best evidence which we could desire, in disproof of the charge against Eusebius.

I shall assume, then, that Phamenoth 26, or March 22, is truly Anatolius' date of the vernal equinox, as Eusebius has represented it. Now we may observe that he calls this date the *νοῦμηνία* of his Paschal month, as well as the head of his Paschal cycle—the *νοῦμηνία* of what must be called on this principle, his *Mensis Novorum*—at least for the first year of the cycle. No other sense can be attached to *νοῦμηνία*, but that of *new moon*. And this new moon, in the first year of the cycle, being placed on the 26th of Phamenoth, or March 22, then upon his principles, the Paschal full moon would fall on the 14th day afterwards, April 5—and if April 5 was Saturday, Easter would be celebrated on the 15th of the moon, or April 6.

Now there was an eclipse of

<sup>a</sup> Vide Bedæ Opera, tom. ii. 345. Editionis Basileæ, 1563. *De Æquinotio Vernali*. Victor's age is A. D. 480: and Dionysius', as we have seen, A. D. 526.



the sun, A. D. 277, on February 20, at five in the morning for the meridian of Paris; which would answer to 20 minutes past seven for the meridian of Laodicea in Syria. The mean new moon, next after this, for the same meridian, would fall out on March 21, at four minutes past ten at night; in which case the actual new moon might very well fall out March 22, as Anatolius says it did. This is a strong confirmation of the accuracy of the date; also that the date of his cycle is A. D. 277; which on every account is extremely probable, for the age of Anatolius seems to be clearly

From A. D. 277 to A. D. 33 there are 244 years.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 200 \text{ Julian mean years} = 73050 \\
 40 \quad \quad \quad = 14610 \\
 4 \quad \quad \quad = 1461 \\
 \hline
 244 \quad \quad \quad = 89121
 \end{array}$$

= 12731 weeks, four days over. Hence A. D. 277, March 18 would be Tuesday, and March 22 would be Saturday.

Now, though the cycle itself is that part of the Latin version of Anatolius, which appears to be the least authentic; yet the ἀρχὴ or *caput*, from which it sets out, referred to the days of the week, is the Sabbath, or Saturday. It supposes the equinox to coincide with that day; though not the first, but the twenty-sixth of the moon. I cannot help suspecting that in this circumstance we have still a genuine feature of the cycle of Anatolius retained; that the actual ἀρχὴ of the Canon was Saturday, March 22, the date of the vernal equinox, and also the date of the νομηνία of his Mensis Novorum for that

defined to one of these two years, A. D. 276 or 277<sup>b</sup>.

But on what day of the week did March 22, A. D. 277, fall? A. D. 305, cycle 6, Dom. lett. G. Eusebius, as we have seen, made May 2 a Friday<sup>c</sup>; and consequently March 22 a Saturday. Consequently, just twenty-eight years before, A. D. 277, cycle 6. Dom. lett. G. March 22 was Saturday also. The same thing may further be proved as follows. April 5, A. D. 30, being Friday, March 22 was Friday also: and A. D. 33, the year after leap year, March 22 was Tuesday.

year at least. I think it was the coincidence of these three things, the new moon, the vernal equinox, and the sabbath, A. D. 277, which made him fix upon that year as the first of the cycle. His Mensis Novorum could not always bear date from the same day. If it bore date this year on March 22, it would bear date the next on March 11; and if his Paschal full moon this year was April 6, it would be the next year March 26; and so on in succeeding years of the cycle. It seems to have been his object, to shew the first twenty days of the moon in order, as those within which Easter, on his principles, must be celebrated; neither earlier than the 14th nor later than the 20th: but as he reckons one lu-

<sup>b</sup> Vide the Testimonia prefixed to his Canon, apud Bucherium, 435—438.  
<sup>c</sup> Supra, page 633. 638.

nar equal to two civil days, this virtually implies neither earlier than the 15th nor later than the 21st in the civil reckoning, as both comprehended in the 14th and 20th of the lunar, respectively. Hence his new moon bearing date A. D. 277, on March 22, his 14th would bear date on April 5; and March 22 being Saturday, April 5 would be Saturday also: and April 6 would be Sunday: and April 6, on his principles, as neither earlier than the vernal equinox, nor than the xivth of the moon, and as coinciding with the first day of the week, might be kept as Easter day.

Before we take our leave of the above subjects, I think it necessary to observe, that coincidences may possibly be found to be specified between days of the month and days of the week, at different periods of the interval from A. D. 30, to the date of the council of Nice: coincidences, too, which will appear to hold good on the principles of the solar cycle, and on those only. I am aware of some such myself; though the length to which these discussions have extended, and the overgrown bulk of the present work, render it obviously improper to enter upon the particular consideration of every such case, which might be adduced, or on the explanation of difficulties connected with them. I must be content to rest the conclusion which I have laboured to establish, upon the arguments just produced; whether these shall be considered sufficient to authorize it, or not. Among the objections, however, which might be urged to the con-

trary, I will notice two; though as briefly as possible.

The Paschal canon, or Pinax, of Hippolytus, to which we have more than once referred, bears date from the first of Alexander Severus, A. D. 222; and the first Paschal full moon, or rather the first *ἰδ' τοῦ πάσχα*, which is specified in it, is supposed to bear date on the Ides of April, and the sabbath; that is, on Saturday, April 13. On the principles of the solar cycle this would be actually the case; for A. D. 222. cycle 7. Dom. lett. F. April 13, according to the tables, was Saturday.

Now I will not attempt to obviate this difficulty by denying that Hippolytus Portuensis was the author of a double octaëteric cycle, or Paschal canon of sixteen years, which this document may very possibly represent; nor supposing this to be the case, will I contend, that according to the most ancient authorities, who mention this fact, and especially Eusebius, the cycle in question seems to have ended, rather than begun with the first of Alexander Severus; nor, admitting each of these things, should I think of calling in question the commonly received date of the first of Alexander Severus, A. D. 222, or correcting it by A. D. 224, which some of the learned would substitute in its stead. My answer to the objection in general would be, that the marble on which this canon is inscribed, and which was first discovered near Rome, A. D. 1551, is not contemporary with Hippolytus himself; and therefore though it may exhibit a Paschaliū, or Paschal cycle, like that

which is ascribed to him, yet if it was not published in his lifetime, it may not exhibit it altogether as it came from himself. In the next place, the marble, in my opinion also, exhibits internal evidence that the cycle inscribed upon it was not published before the vernal equinox had been fixed to March 21, and before the peculiar rule for the observance of Easter, prescribed by the council of Nice; and therefore not before the date of the council of Nice. It appears to me, then, that the Paschal cycle, inscribed on this marble, though possibly in other respects Hippolytus', yet is Hippolytus' corrected more or less in conformity to the rules laid down by the council of Nice: and therefore that the dates which it exhibits, especially the coincidences between the days of the month and the days of the week, in its present state, are no evidence of what they might have been in the time of the author.

There is another Paschal canon of a similar description, that is, consisting as this does, of a double octaëteric cycle, to which also we have had occasion to refer heretofore; I mean the Paschal Computus ascribed to Cyprian. The details of this computus are brought down to the fifth year of Gordian, Coss. Arriano et Papo, A. D. 243; in which year the Paschal full moon is supposed to bear date with Tuesday March 21, and the dies Dominicus or Easter day, with the Sunday following, March 26. On the principles of the solar cycle, each of these things would be the case; for A. D. 243, cycle 28, Dom. lett.

A. March 21 was Tuesday, and March 26 was Sunday. In answer to this objection, too, it is not necessary to dispute whether this work is rightly ascribed to Cyprian, or not; or to insist in particular on the corrupt state in which its numbers have descended to us: I will observe, only, that it is peculiar to it to deduce its several passovers, on the principles which are supposed to regulate the recurrence of the dates of the full moon, and the coincidences of the days of the month with the days of the week, through periods of seven double octaëteric cycles, that is, of  $7 \times 16$  or 112 years—from one *cardo* or *caput* of the whole, the passover celebrated in Egypt, at the time of the Exodus, the date of which is supposed to have been *Pridie Idus Apriles, feria secunda*, that is, Monday, April 12.

On what principle this cardinal date was itself assumed, as far as I can discover, does not appear. On the contrary, it seems to be taken for granted without proof; and to judge from the author's language with reference to it, at the outset of the work and elsewhere, it would seem to be implied that it was a secret, revealed to him by direct inspiration from above; in other words, that it was a conjecture, but an happy one. The limits of the *Mensis Novorum*, the fourteenth of which is supposed to coincide with the fourteenth of the moon, in the year of the Exodus, and both with April 12, he does fix on principles, which though purely conjectural, and even erroneous, are yet intelligible.

Supposing the first day of



creation to bear date from the vernal equinox, and that from March 25—he assumes that March 25 was the first day of the week, A. M. 1: and placing the creation of the sun and moon on the fourth day of the week ensuing, v. kal. Apriles, that is Wednesday, March 28—and supposing the moon to be at the full when created, that is, to be fifteen days old, (a supposition which repeatedly occurs in the course of the work,) he obtains the *cardo* or *neomenia* of the *Mensis Novorum*, by taking the difference between this date, March 28, A. M. 1, when the moon was fifteen days old, and the moon's epact at the end of one year's revolution, or the age which the moon would be of when she came round to the same day again, A. M. 2. This is of course eleven days. On this principle, the first day of his *Mensis Novorum* is fixed to xvi. Kal. Apriles, March 17. and the last to xvii. Kal. Maias, April 15, both inclusive. And he finds fault with those before him, who had endeavoured to fix the same limits by reckoning fourteen days back from the day of the moon's creation, at the full, March 28, A. M. 1. inclusive, and so fixed the first of the *Mensis Novorum* to the Ides of March, or March 15, on the one hand, and the last to the Ides of April, or April 13, on the other. On these two principles, the one, that the true *Mensis Novorum* lay between March 17 and April 15, so determined, and the other, that the fourteenth of the moon in this month, in the year of the Exodus, coincided with Monday, April 12, the whole of this author's scheme of passovers from

the Exodus to the 5th of Gordian, on the principles of the double octaëteric cycle, is based. And each of these we may venture to say is a purely gratuitous hypothesis; and the first of them even a false one—it being impossible that the date of the vernal equinox A. M. 1. could be correctly represented by the date of the same natural phenomenon, A. D. 243, or either by March 25. Calculations formed on so false a principle, could not turn out to be correct, except by pure accident; and whether they were so, in the present instance, even by chance, it does not seem possible to say; for the pinax or canon, constructed in conformity to the above principles, is lost; and the author specifies no passover that comes down to his own time, except that of the vth of Gordian, A. D. 243, Coss. Arriano et Papo. Nor does it appear even of this, whether it was the first or the last of the Sedecennity intended for his own time more particularly; and consequently, whether his canon, strictly so called, began or ended with the fifth of Gordian in question.

I cannot help thinking that when an uniform rule of a certain kind, for the observance of Easter, had been prescribed by the council of Nice, and out of deference to its authority had been generally received in the church; the Paschal canons or cycles, of which there were many in use in particular churches before, were modified in conformity to the prescriptions of the council; possibly by the direction of the council itself; there being many reasons to render it desirable, that the old



rule, where it was practicable, instead of being superseded by, should merely be adapted and conformed to the new—and the old cycles before in use, with such corrections or adjustments as were necessary to accommodate the old rule to the new, should be retained in use, to serve the same purpose of regulating the observance of Easter still. The canon of Hippolytus, at least, in my opinion, as we have it at present, bears internal marks of some such an adaptation in its own instance. And very possibly the same thing might have been perceptible of Cyprian's, if it had come down to us in a more perfect state.

I shall conclude, therefore, with a few observations on another subject. We have had frequent occasion to allude to the dates of the vernal equinox, at different times before and after the birth of Christ; and calculations have been attempted of them accordingly. But as these did not proceed exclusively on the standard of the natural year, according to Delambre, which must be presumed to be more exact than that of Newton, I cannot do better, perhaps, than subjoin to the close of the present work, a calculation of

the principal dates of the vernal equinox, which we have hitherto had occasion to consider—all in conformity to the standard of Delambre; and therefore proceeding on the assumption that the excess of the Julian or civil above the natural year—in other words, the anticipation of the natural on the civil—is eleven minutes, nine seconds annually. These dates are the vernal equinoxes, B. C. 1560: B. C. 45: B. C. 4: A. D. 277: and A. D. 325, more especially. In order to the proposed calculation, I shall take it for granted that the computation of mundane time actually bears date from April 22, B. C. 4004, at 6 P. M. exactly. We have rendered this probable already, by the succession of days and nights from that time to our own, see *supra*, p. 656–659: and we shall render it still more probable, if we do not place it out of question, by the calculations about to be instituted. April 22, reckoned from March 1 inclusive, is the 53rd day from that date. The anticipation in the Newtonian year is 11 minutes, 3 seconds annually; that of Delambre's is 6 seconds more. This excess = one minute in ten years, and one hour in six hundred years.

## No. I.

A. M. 1. B. C. 4004. Jul. P. 710. Vernal Equin. April 22, 18h.

Required Vern. Eq. A. M. 2445. B. C. 1560. Julian P. 3154.

Interval = 2444 years.

*Anticipation.*

| Newton.        |    |    |    | Delambre. |    |    |    |
|----------------|----|----|----|-----------|----|----|----|
| d.             | h. | m. | s. | d.        | h. | m. | s. |
| 2000=15        | 8  | 20 | 0  | 2400=0    | 4  | 0  | 0  |
| 400=3          | 1  | 40 | 0  | 40=0      | 0  | 4  | 0  |
| 40=0           | 7  | 22 | 0  | 4=0       | 0  | 0  | 24 |
| 4=0            | 0  | 44 | 12 |           |    |    |    |
| <hr/>          |    |    |    | <hr/>     |    |    |    |
| 2444=18        | 18 | 6  | 12 | 2444=0    | 4  | 4  | 24 |
| Add from Del.  | 0  | 4  | 24 |           |    |    |    |
| <hr/>          |    |    |    | <hr/>     |    |    |    |
| Total Anticip. | 18 | 22 | 36 |           |    |    |    |

A. M. 1. B. C. 4004. Jul. P. 710. Vern. Eq. April 22. 18<sup>h</sup>. 0<sup>m</sup>. 0<sup>s</sup>.  
 Anticipation for 2444 years,..... 18. 22. 10. 36.

A. M. 2445. B. C. 1560. J. P. 3154. Ve. Eq. April 3. 19. 49. 24.

That is, April 3, 7<sup>h</sup>. 49<sup>m</sup>. 24<sup>s</sup>. in the evening. Vide vol. iii. 459.

## No. II.

A. M. 1. B. C. 4004. Jul. P. 710. Vern. Eq. 53<sup>d</sup>. 18<sup>h</sup>. 0<sup>m</sup>. 0<sup>s</sup>.  
 Required Vern. Eq. A. M. 3960. B. C. 45. Jul. P. 4669.

Interval = 3959 years. *Anticipation.*

| Newton. |    |    |    | Delambre. |    |    |    |
|---------|----|----|----|-----------|----|----|----|
| d.      | h. | m. | s. | d.        | h. | m. | s. |
| 3000=   | 23 | 0  | 30 | 0         | 6  | 0  | 0  |
| 900=    | 6  | 21 | 45 | 0         | 0  | 30 | 0  |
| 50=     | 0  | 9  | 12 | 0         | 5  | 0  | 0  |
| 9=      | 0  | 1  | 39 | 0         | 0  | 0  | 54 |
| <hr/>   |    |    |    | <hr/>     |    |    |    |
| 3959=   | 30 | 9  | 6  | 3959=     | 0  | 6  | 35 |
| Add     |    | 6  | 35 |           |    | 54 |    |
| <hr/>   |    |    |    | <hr/>     |    |    |    |
| Total=  | 30 | 15 | 42 |           |    |    |    |
|         |    |    | 51 |           |    |    |    |

A. M. 1. B. C. 4004. Jul. P. 710. Vern. Eq. 53<sup>d</sup>. 18<sup>h</sup>. 0<sup>m</sup>. 0<sup>s</sup>.  
 Anticipation, 3959 years,..... 30. 15. 42. 51.

A. M. 3960. B. C. 45. J. P. 4669. V. E. March 23. 2. 17. 9.

That is, March 23, 2<sup>h</sup>. 17<sup>m</sup>. 9<sup>s</sup>. in the morning. Vide supra, p. 665, 666.

## No. III.

A. M. 1. B. C. 4004. Jul. P. 710. Vern. Eq. 53<sup>d</sup>. 18<sup>h</sup>. 0<sup>m</sup>. 0<sup>s</sup>.  
 Required Vern. Eq. A. M. 4001. B. C. 4. Jul. P. 4710.

Interval = 4000 years. *Anticipation.*

| Newton. |    |    | Delambre. |       |    |
|---------|----|----|-----------|-------|----|
| d.      | h. | m. | d.        | h.    | m. |
| 4000=   | 30 | 16 | 40        | 3600= | 0  |
| Add     | 0  | 6  | 40        | 400=  | 0  |
| <hr/>   |    |    | <hr/>     |       |    |
| Total=  | 30 | 23 | 20        | 4000= | 0  |
|         |    |    |           |       | 6  |
|         |    |    |           |       | 40 |

A. M. 1. B. C. 4004. Jul. P. 710. Vern. Eq. 53<sup>d</sup>. 18<sup>h</sup>. 0<sup>m</sup>. 0<sup>s</sup>.  
 Anticipation, 4000 years,..... 30. 23. 20. 0.

A. M. 4001. B. C. 4. Jul. P. 4710. V. E. March 22. 18. 40. 0.

That is, March 22, 6<sup>h</sup>. 40<sup>m</sup>. in the evening. Vide vol. iii. p. 459.

## No. IV.

A. M. 1. B. C. 4004. Jul. P. 710. Vern. Eq. 53<sup>d</sup>. 18<sup>h</sup>. 0<sup>m</sup>. 0<sup>s</sup>.  
 Required Vern. Eq. A. M. 4281. A. D. 277. Jul. P. 4990.

Interval = 4280 years. *Anticipation.*

| Newton. |    |    | Delambre. |       |    |
|---------|----|----|-----------|-------|----|
| d.      | h. | m. | d.        | h.    | m. |
| 4000=   | 30 | 16 | 40        | 4000= | 0  |
| 200=    | 1  | 12 | 50        | 200=  | 0  |
| 80=     | 0  | 14 | 44        | 80=   | 0  |
| <hr/>   |    |    | <hr/>     |       |    |
| 4280=   | 32 | 20 | 14        | 4280= | 0  |
| Add     | 0  | 7  | 8         |       |    |
| <hr/>   |    |    | <hr/>     |       |    |
| Total   | 33 | 3  | 22        |       |    |

A. M. 1. B. C. 4004. Jul. P. 710. Vern. Eq. 53<sup>d</sup>. 18<sup>h</sup>. 0<sup>m</sup>. 0<sup>s</sup>.  
 Anticipation, 4280 years, ..... 33. 3. 22. 0.

A. M. 4281. A. D. 277. J. P. 4990. V. E. March 20. 14. 38. 0.

That is, March 20, 2<sup>h</sup>. 38<sup>m</sup>. Afternoon. Vide supra 666.

#### No. V.

A. M. 1. B. C. 4004. Jul. P. 710. Vern. Eq. 53<sup>d</sup>. 18<sup>h</sup>. 0<sup>m</sup>. 0<sup>s</sup>.  
 Required Vern. Eq. A. M. 4329. A. D. 325. Jul. P. 5038.  
 Interval=4328.

#### Anticipation.

| Newton.  |    |    |    | Delambre. |    |    |    |
|----------|----|----|----|-----------|----|----|----|
| d.       | h. | m. | s. | d.        | h. | m. | s. |
| 4000=30  | 16 | 40 | 0  | 4000=0    | 6  | 40 | 0  |
| 300=2    | 7  | 15 | 0  | 300=0     | 0  | 30 | 0  |
| 20=0     | 3  | 41 | 0  | 20=0      | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| 8=0      | 1  | 28 | 24 | 8=0       | 0  | 0  | 48 |
| <hr/>    |    |    |    | <hr/>     |    |    |    |
| 4328=33  | 5  | 4  | 24 | 4328=0    | 7  | 12 | 48 |
| Add 0    | 7  | 12 | 48 |           |    |    |    |
| <hr/>    |    |    |    | <hr/>     |    |    |    |
| Total=33 | 12 | 17 | 12 |           |    |    |    |

A. M. 1. B. C. 4004. Jul. P. 710. Vern. Eq. 53<sup>d</sup>. 18<sup>h</sup>. 0<sup>m</sup>. 0<sup>s</sup>.  
 Anticipation, 4328 years, ..... 33. 12. 17. 12.

A. M. 4329. A. D. 325. J. P. 5038. V. E. March 20. 5. 42. 48.

That is, March 20, 5<sup>h</sup>. 42<sup>m</sup>. 48<sup>s</sup>. in the morning. Vide supra, page 666.

#### No. VI.

Let us confirm these conclusions, in the last place, by calculating, on the same principle, the vernal equinox, A. D. 1837.

A. M. 1. B. C. 4004. Jul. P. 710. Vern. Eq. 53<sup>d</sup>. 18<sup>h</sup>. 0<sup>m</sup>. 0<sup>s</sup>.  
 Required Vernal Equinox, A. M. 5841. A. D. 1837, Jul. P. 6550.  
 Interval=5840.

#### Anticipation.

| Newton.                                                |    |    |    | Delambre. |    |    |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|-----------|----|----|----|
| d.                                                     | h. | m. | s. | d.        | h. | m. | s. |
| 5000=38                                                | 8  | 50 |    | 4800=0    | 8  | 0  |    |
| 800=6                                                  | 3  | 20 |    | 1000=0    | 1  | 40 |    |
| 40=0                                                   | 7  | 22 |    | 40=0      | 0  | 4  |    |
| <hr/>                                                  |    |    |    | <hr/>     |    |    |    |
| 5840=44                                                | 19 | 32 |    | 5840=0    | 9  | 44 |    |
| Add 0                                                  | 0  | 9  | 44 |           |    |    |    |
| <hr/>                                                  |    |    |    | <hr/>     |    |    |    |
| Total=45                                               | 5  | 16 |    |           |    |    |    |
| Cast off for cor-<br>rections of the<br>Julian year. } |    |    |    | 12        | 0  | 0  |    |
| <hr/>                                                  |    |    |    | <hr/>     |    |    |    |
| Difference                                             | 33 | 5  | 16 |           |    |    |    |

A. M. 1. B. C. 4004. Jul. P. 710. Vern. Eq. 53<sup>d</sup>. 18<sup>h</sup>. 0<sup>m</sup>. 0<sup>s</sup>.  
Reduced anticipation, 5840 years . . . . . 33. 5. 16. 0.

A. M. 5841. A. D. 1837. J. P. 6550. V. E. March 20. 12. 44. 0.

That is, March 20, 12<sup>h</sup>. 44<sup>m</sup>. at noon. Now I find by the Almanacks that A. D. 1836 the sun entered the Spring quarter, that is, the Vernal Equinox arrived, March 20, 1<sup>h</sup>. 39<sup>m</sup>. 10<sup>s</sup>. after noon. Hence, on the principles upon which we have hitherto proceeded,

A. D. 1836. Vern. Eq. March 20, 13<sup>h</sup>. 39<sup>m</sup>. 10<sup>s</sup>.  
Deduct one year's anticipation, . . 0, 0. 11. 9.

A. D. 1837. Vern. Eq. March 20, 13. 28. 1.

From which the result which we have obtained, viz. March 20, 12<sup>h</sup>. 44<sup>s</sup>. differs only by one second, and forty-four minutes in defect: a difference which does not amount to half a second per annum, over a space of 5840 years. This is a striking confirmation of the accuracy of our previous calculations, and of the truth of the hypothesis on which they proceed, that the computation of mundane time

bears date from B. C. 4004, April 22, at 6. P. M. exactly. Also that the standard of the mean length of the natural year, according to Delambre, is correct within half a second in excess at least <sup>d</sup>; and that the anticipation of the natural upon the Julian year, on the same principle, is eleven minutes, nine seconds annually.

Let us prove this conclusion in another way:—

B. C. 45. (see No. II.) the Vernal Equinox fell March 23, 2<sup>h</sup>. 17<sup>m</sup>. 9<sup>s</sup>. From B. C. 45 to A. D. 1837. the interval is 1881 years.

# No. VII.

## Anticipation.

| Newton. |    |    |    | Delambre. |       |    |    |    |    |
|---------|----|----|----|-----------|-------|----|----|----|----|
|         | d. | h. | m. | s.        |       | d. | h. | m. | s. |
| 1000=   | 7  | 16 | 10 | 0         | 1800= | 0  | 3  | 0  | 0  |
| 800=    | 6  | 3  | 20 | 0         | 80=   | 0  | 0  | 8  | 0  |
| 80=     | 0  | 14 | 44 | 0         | 1=    | 0  | 0  | 0  | 6  |
| 1=      | 0  | 0  | 11 | 3         |       |    |    |    |    |
| <hr/>   |    |    |    |           | <hr/> |    |    |    |    |
| 1881=   | 14 | 10 | 25 | 3         | 1881= | 0  | 3  | 8  | 6  |
| Add     | 0  | 3  | 8  | 6         |       |    |    |    |    |
| <hr/>   |    |    |    |           |       |    |    |    |    |
| Total=  | 14 | 13 | 33 | 9         |       |    |    |    |    |

B. C. 45. Vern. Eq. March 23<sup>d</sup>. 2<sup>h</sup>. 17<sup>m</sup>. 9<sup>s</sup>.  
Anticipation, 1881 years . . . . . 14. 13. 33. 9.

A. D. 1837. Vern. Eq. March 8. 12. 44. 0.

<sup>d</sup> The mean length of the tropical year is differently represented by different modern authorities: by sir Isaac Newton, at 365<sup>d</sup>. 5<sup>h</sup>. 48<sup>m</sup>. 57<sup>s</sup>: by Delambre,



Now March 8, by the correction of the calendar, A. D. 1752, became March 19; and March 19, by the omission of the leap year, A. D. 1800, was advanced into the place of March 20; and on March 20, as we have seen, the calculations of modern astronomers place the Vernal Equinox still.

The above calculations are reckoned downwards from A. M. 1; but they meet in a common point with calculations reckoned backwards by modern astronomers from their own time; which they would not do, if they were not correct. Thus we have calculated the Vernal Equinox, A. D. 325, to March 20, 5<sup>h</sup>. 42<sup>m</sup>. 48<sup>s</sup>. (see No. V.) and Kennedy, (see Dr. Hales, vol. i. p. 157,) calculated it for the same date to March 20, 8<sup>h</sup>. 21<sup>m</sup>. between which there is but 2<sup>h</sup>. 38<sup>m</sup>. 12<sup>s</sup>. difference. And even this may be accounted for, if Kennedy calculated by the Newtonian, not the Delambre stand-

ard of the year.

It should be remembered, however, that the above are the mean dates of the Vernal Equinoxes, and founded on the mean proportions of the solar and civil year. They will not represent the true, except in leap years; when the mean proportions of the two years to each other are periodically restored. For the first year after leap year, the civil year will anticipate the natural by 5<sup>h</sup>. 48<sup>m</sup>. 51<sup>s</sup>.: and the actual date of the Vernal Equinox will be so much later than the mean. Thus it is that A. D. 1837, this present year, the Almanacks shew the ingress of the sun into the Vernal quarter, March 20, 7<sup>h</sup>. 23<sup>m</sup>. 21<sup>s</sup>. P. M. and last year shewed it March 20, 1<sup>h</sup>. 39<sup>m</sup>. 10<sup>s</sup>. P. M. But last year, A. D. 1836, was leap year, and the present year, A. D. 1837, is the first year after it; which explains the anomaly at once.

at 365<sup>d</sup>. 5<sup>h</sup>. 48<sup>m</sup>. 51<sup>s</sup>.6: by Cassini, at 365<sup>d</sup>. 5<sup>h</sup>. 49<sup>m</sup>. 0<sup>s</sup>. 53<sup>'''</sup>: by Ideler, at 365<sup>d</sup>. 5<sup>h</sup>. 48<sup>m</sup>. 48<sup>s</sup>: by sir John Herschel, at 365<sup>d</sup>. 5<sup>h</sup>. 48<sup>m</sup>. 49<sup>s</sup>.7. In the midst of this diversity, if we assume a mean length, between Delambre and sir John Herschel, we may reckon it at 365<sup>d</sup>. 5<sup>h</sup>. 48<sup>m</sup>. 50<sup>s</sup>.5, or one half second less than the length at which we have calculated it; which in 5840 years will make a difference of 48<sup>m</sup>. 40<sup>s</sup>. This being subtracted from the calculated amount of the anticipation, 45<sup>d</sup>. 5<sup>h</sup>. 16<sup>m</sup>. will make it 45<sup>d</sup>. 4<sup>h</sup>. 27<sup>m</sup>. 20<sup>s</sup>: and this will ultimately shew the Vernal Equinox, A. D. 1837, March 20, 13<sup>h</sup>. 32<sup>m</sup>. 40<sup>s</sup>. between which, and the date, March 20, 13<sup>h</sup>. 28<sup>m</sup>. 1<sup>s</sup>. the difference is 4<sup>m</sup>. 39<sup>s</sup>. only.

## APPENDIX. TABLES.

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## TABLE THIRD.

*Presidents of Syria.*

From U. C. 691. B. C. 63. to U. C. 828. A. D. 75.\*

|                                                            | U. C. | B. C. |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| I. Scaurus <sup>a</sup> . <i>By Pompey the Great</i> ..... | 691   | 63    |

\* [The above table extends of Syria to the form of a Roman province, to the close of the  
from the year of the reduction

<sup>a</sup> Appian, *De Rebus Syriacis*, 51: *Ant. Jud.* xiv. iv. 5. *De Bello*, i. vii. 7: *Cf. Velleius Paterculus*, ii. 37: *Plutarch*, *Pompeius*, 39.

|                                                                                               | U. C. | B. C. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| II. (L.) Marcius Philippus <sup>b</sup> . <i>Ex Prætura</i> .....                             | *693  | 61    |
| III. (Cn. Corn.) Lentulus Marcellinus* <sup>c</sup> . <i>Ex</i><br><i>Prætura</i> .....       | 695   | 59    |
| IV. Aulus Gabinius† <sup>d</sup> . <i>Ex Consulatu</i> .....                                  | 697   | 57    |
| V. Marcus Licinius Crassus <sup>e</sup> . <i>Ex Consulatu</i> .....                           | 700   | 54    |
| VI. C. Cassius‡ <sup>f</sup> .....                                                            | 701   | 53    |
| VII. Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus § <sup>g</sup> . <i>Ex Consu-</i><br><i>latu</i> .....         | 702   | 52    |
| VIII. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio    <sup>h</sup> . <i>Ex</i><br><i>Consulatu</i> . .... | 705   | 49    |
| IX. Sextus Julius Cæsar ¶ <sup>i</sup> . <i>Appointed by Ju-</i><br><i>lius Cæsar</i> .....   | 707   | 47    |

history of the Jewish war. The dates marked with an asterisk must be received not as absolutely the true ones, but as the nearest approximation to the true, which our data allow us to make.]

\* These two were consuls together U. C. 698. See Dio, xxxix. 16. 40.

† When Gabinius left his province to restore Ptolemy, king of Egypt, U. C. 699, Sissenna, his son, was legate of Syria in his absence. Dio, xxxix. 56.

‡ Cassius was quæstor of Crassus, at the time of his death U. C. 701; and, having escaped with the wreck of his army into Syria, of course held the province only until the arrival of Bibulus.

§ Valerius Maximus (iv. i. 15.) mentions an anecdote in relation to this Bibulus, which shews that Cleopatra was queen of Egypt sometime during his term of office in the government of Syria. Cleopatra was actually queen, U. C. 702, or U. C. 703.

|| Bibulus left his province U. C. 704. Cicero, ad Atticum, vii. 3: Bibulus de provincia decessit, Veientonem præfecit. Veiento therefore was *locum tenens*, until the arrival of Scipio.

¶ When Scipio left his province, U. C. 706, to join Pompey before the battle of Pharsalia, either Rheginus (Appian, B. C. iv. 40.) or L. Hirrus (Ulcillis, Cæsar, De Bello Civili, iii. 82. i. 15.) was appointed *locum tenens* in his stead.

<sup>b</sup> Appian, *loc. cit.* <sup>c</sup> Appian, *loc. cit.* <sup>d</sup> Appian, *loc. cit.* et De Bellis Civilibus, v. 10: Dio, xxxix. 1. 12. 16. 33. 55, 56: Ant. Jud. xiv. v. 2. De Bello, i. viii. 2: Cf. Cicero, De Provinciis Consularibus, and in L. Pisonem: Strabo, xii. 3. §. 34. 134: xvii. 1. §. 11. 514. Cicero calls him Caius Gabinius. <sup>e</sup> Dio, xxxix. 33—36. 60. xl. 12—17: Plutarch, Pompeius, 52: Crassus, 15—17: Appian, *locis citatis*: Velleius Paterculus, ii. 46: Ant. Jud. xiv. vi. 4: De Bello, i. viii. 8. <sup>f</sup> Dio, xl. 28, 29: Velleius Paterculus, ii. 46: Ant. Jud. xiv. vii. 3: De Bello, i. viii. 9: Aurelius Victor, De Viris Illustribus: Orosius, vi. 13. § Dio, xl. 30. 50. 58, 59. 63. 65. 66: Appian, De Rebus Syriacis, 51: De Bellis Civilibus, v. 10: Cicero, Ad Familiares, xv. 3: Philippica, xi. 13: Cf. Plutarch, Antonius, 5: Dio, xli. 44: Appian, De Bellis Civilibus, ii. 49: Cæsar, De Bello Civili, iii. 5. <sup>h</sup> Cæsar, De Bello Civili, i. 6: iii. 4. 31—33. 57. 76—82: Ant. Jud. xiv. vii. 4: De Bello, i. ix. 2. <sup>i</sup> Dio, xlvii. 26: Appian, De Bellis Civilibus, iv. 58: Ant. Jud. xiv. ix. 2. 4: De Bello, i. x. 5. 7.



|                                                            | U. C. | B. C. |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| X. Q. Cæcilius Bassus * <sup>k</sup> .....                 | 709   | 45    |
| XI. C. Cassius † <sup>l</sup> . <i>Ex Prætura</i> .....    | 710   | 44    |
| XII. Decidius Saxa ‡ <sup>m</sup> . <i>By Antony</i> ..... | 713   | 41    |
| XIII. P. Ventidius § <sup>n</sup> . <i>By Antony</i> ..... | 715   | 39    |
| XIV. C. Sosius    <sup>o</sup> . <i>By Antony</i> .....    | *716  | 38    |

\* Cæcilius Bassus was no regular governor; having assassinated, or procured the assassination of his predecessor. See the auctores citati, and cf. Strabo, xvi. 2. §. 10. 317.

† Josephus, (Ant. Jud. xiv. xi. De Bello, i. x. 10. xi.) speaks of a Marcus, as associated with Cassius in the government of Syria: by whom he means probably, either Lucius Statius Murcus, or Marcus Crispus, as Dio calls him (xlvii. 27.) though his proper name was Q. Marcius Crispus; see Cicero, Philippica, xi. 12. Ad Familiares, xii. 11: Velleius Paterculus, ii. 69: Appian, De Bellis, iv. 58: both *virī prætōrii*, who were waging war upon Bassus, for the assassination of Sextus, and the usurpation of the government, when Cassius arrived.

It must also be observed that the government of Syria was claimed this same year, U. C. 710, by P. Cornelius Dolabella, *ex consulatu*. Cassius was the first to arrive in the province, and so obtained possession before him; in which the senate confirmed him, U. C. 711. See

the references<sup>1</sup>, and Dio, xlvii. 29.

‡ When Cassius quitted his province to join Brutus, U. C. 711, he left his ἀδελφιδούς or nephew, (L. Cassius) *legatus* in his stead: Appian, De Bellis Civilibus, iv. 63.

§ During the intermediate year between Saxa and Ventidius, U. C. 714, Syria was occupied by Labienus and Pacorus, who made Saxa prisoner in Cilicia, and put him to death: Dio, xlviii. 24—26: Ant. Jud. xiv. xiii. 3: De Bello, i. xiii. 1. &c. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 78. Florus (iv. ix. §. 5.) calls him Saxa, and says he died by his own hand, to avoid being taken by the Parthians.

|| Antony himself was in Syria, commanding at the siege of Samosata, U. C. 716, (cf. Ant. Jud. xiv. xv. 8. De Bello, i. xvi. 7, besides the other authorities, vol. i. 270, &c.) and Ventidius was at Rome, October 26, U. C. 716, when he triumphed. See the Fasti Triumphales. But Antony cannot be reckoned among the regular governors.

Sosius was probably appointed U. C. 716 *exeunte*.

<sup>k</sup> Dio, xlvii. 26, 27: Appian, De Bellis Civilibus, iv. 58: Ant. Jud. xiv. xi. 1: De Bello, i. x. 10. <sup>l</sup> Dio, xlvii. 26, 28: Appian, De Bellis Civilibus, iv. 57, 58: Cf. iii. 2. 8. 63, 64: De Rebus Illyricis, 13: Cicero, Ad Familiares, xii. 11: Philippica, xi. 12: Ant. Jud. xiv. xi. 2: De Bello, i. xi. 1: Cf. Plutarch, Cicero, 43: Brutus, 28. <sup>m</sup> Livii Epitome, cxxvii: Dio, xlviii. 24. 4: Appian, De Rebus Syriacis, 51: Cf. Jos. Ant. xiv. xiii. 1. 3: De Bello, i. xii. 5: xiii. 1. <sup>n</sup> Dio, xlviii. 39. 34: Appian, De Bellis Civilibus, v. 65: Ant. Jud. xiv. xiv. 6: xv. 5. 7: De Bello, i. xv. 2, 3: xvi. 4. 6: Cf. vol. i. 269, 270. <sup>o</sup> Vol. i. 271, 272: Cf. Dio, xlix. 22: Plutarch, Antonius, 34.

|                                                                                    | U. C. | B. C.  |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|--------|
| XV. L. Munatius Plancus * p. <i>By Antony</i> .....                                | *719  | 35     |
| XVI. L. Calpurnius Bibulus q. <i>By Antony</i> .....                               | *721  | 33     |
| XVII. Quintus Didius r. <i>By Antony</i> .....                                     | *722  | 32     |
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| XXX. Cn. Sentius ¶ f .....                                                         | 772   | 19     |

\* Sosius was at Rome, and triumphing, September 3, U. C. 720.

† It must be here observed that Agrippa probably governed Syria, both on this occasion and that, U. C. 738, not in person, but by his legati, or ὑποστράτηγοι.

‡ Augustus himself was in the East, U. C. 733 and 734: and probably appointed Cicero, on his departure thence.

§ Augustus' adopted son, C. Julius Cæsar Vipsanianus, was sent into the East, U. C. 753, with proconsular authority over

all the provinces, Syria, as well as the rest, See vol. i. 533. 545. iv. 8, 9. Also Orosius, vii. 3.

|| Germanicus was dispatched into the East, with proconsular authority, U. C. 771, (Tacitus, Annales, ii. 53 :) and by him Piso was deposed, U. C. 772: (Tacitus, Ibid. 70. 75—81.)

¶ Cn. Sentius was appointed by the council of Germanicus, upon his death, U. C. 772, as *locum tenens*, until some other governor should be sent by Tiberius.

p Appian, De Bellis Civilibus, v. 144. Plancus was Consul Suff. ii. U. C. 818. q Appian, De Bellis Civilibus, iv. 38: Cf. vol. i. 530. r Cf. vol. i. 530. s Ibid. t Vol. i. 511—534. v Vol. i. 510. 532, 533. w Vol. i. 510. x Vol. i. 510. 533. 491: Strabo, xvi. 2. §. 19. 331. y Vol. i. 478—490. 498, 499. 501. 511. z Vol. i. 489—516.: Cf. Ant. Jud. xvi. ix. 1, 2: x. 8: xi. 3. xvii. i. 1: ii. 1: iii. 2: De Bello, i. xxvii. 2: xxviii. 1: xxix. 3. a Vol. i. 477, 478. 511—516: Ant. Jud. xvii. v. 2. 7: ix. 3: De Bello, i. xxxi. 5. ii. ii. 2: Velleius Paterculus, ii. 147: Tacitus, Historiæ, v. 9: Dio, lvi. 18. b Vol. i. 509. c Ant. Jud. xvii. xiii. 5: xviii. i. 1: vol. i. 274—276. 509. 545. d Vol. i. 508, 509: Cf. Tacitus, Annales, ii. 4: Jos. Ant. Jud. xviii. ii. 4. e Tacitus, Annales, ii. 43: Suetonius, Tiberius, 52, 7: Caius, 2, 1, 2: Ant. Jud. xviii. ii. 5: Dio, lviii. 18. f Tacitus, Annales, ii. 74.

|                                                                 | U. C. | A. D. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| XXXI. L. Pomponius Flaccus Græcinus * <sup>g</sup> .....        | *775  | 22    |
| XXXII. L. Vitellius † <sup>h</sup> .....                        | 787   | 34    |
| XXXIII. P. Petronius Turpilianus <sup>i</sup> . <i>By Caius</i> | 792   | 39    |
| XXXIV. Vibius Marsus <sup>k</sup> . <i>By Claudius</i> .....    | *795  | 42    |
| XXXV. C. Cassius Longinus <sup>l</sup> .....                    | *797  | 44    |
| XXXVI. T. Ummidius Quadratus <sup>m</sup> .....                 | *802  | 49    |
| XXXVII. Cn. Domitius Corbulo ‡ <sup>n</sup> . <i>By Nero</i>    | 813   | 60    |
| XXXVIII. C. Cestius Gallus Camerinus    <sup>o</sup> .....      | *818  | 65    |

\* Pomponius Flaccus was at Rome, U. C. 769, on Sept. 10 and 13, when Libo's conspiracy was detected: (Tacitus, *Annales*, ii. 32 :) he was appointed to *Moesia* U. C. 772: (ibid. 66 :) but must have been superseded before U. C. 778, by Pomponius Labeo. Tacitus *Annales*, iv. 46, 47; vi. 29. Cf. vol. iii. 380, 381.

† Between Flaccus and Vitellius, there was a nominal governor of Syria, appointed indeed, but not permitted to enter upon the office, L. Ælius Lamia. (Tacitus, *Annales*, vi. 27: Cf. vol. iii. 420.) Perhaps he was appointed U. C. 780. Flaccus of course continued in office until his death, U. C. 786.

‡ Quadratus died in office, U. C. 813. There is a coin of his extant, U. C. 812. *ab auctumno*: (Eckhel, iii. 280;) and Pliny (H. N. ii. 72.) Corbulo was commanding in Armenia, April 30, U. C. 812. He was appointed to that command, U. C. 807: (Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 8. Cf. xiii. 34—41: xiv. 12. 23—

26: Statius, *Silvæ*, v. ii. 30—47.) Quadratus was thus kept in office from U. C. 802—813, eleven years; the reason of which seems to have been, that U. C. 808, he was to have been superseded by P. Anteius, who, however, was not permitted to depart to his province: Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 22. His continuance then in office answers to that of Flaccus, under similar circumstances. U. C. 808, would have been about the usual time of relieving him.

|| When Corbulo was absent upon the expedition into Armenia U. C. 816—arising out of the war, U. C. 815. (Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 1—31.) Cincius was appointed Legatus of Syria: Ibid. xv. 25. But he was not absent more than one campaign. The date of the appointment of Cestius cannot be later than U. C. 818, if it be true, as Josephus reports, that he was in Jerusalem at the Passover, U. C. 819. His coins, too, extend from U. C. 818—819 *ab auctumno*: (Eckhel, iii. 281, 282.)

<sup>g</sup> Vol. i. 343. iii. 380. 419.

<sup>h</sup> Vol. ii. 55. iv. 419: Suetonius, Vitellius, 2:

Caius, 14. 5: Tacitus, *Annales*, vi. 32. 37. 41: Pliny, H. N. xv. 21: vol. i. 347—351.

<sup>i</sup> Vol. i. 295, 296: Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, iii. 280: *Ant. Jud.* xix. vi. 3: Philo Judeus, ii. 576. 34 sqq.

<sup>k</sup> Vol. ii. 53: *Ant. Jud.*

xix. vi. 4: vii. 2: viii. 1: ix. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Vol. i. 349: ii. 52, 53: iv. 131.

<sup>m</sup> Vol. iv. 119, 120. 126, 127. 130, 131: *Ant. Jud.* xx. vi. 2, 3: De Bello, ii. xii. 5, 6: Cf. Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 8, 9. His name in full was C. or T. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus.

<sup>n</sup> Tacitus, *Annales*, xiv. 26.

<sup>o</sup> De Bello, ii. xiv. 3: Vita Josephi, 67. 71: Suetonius, Vespasianus, 4: Tacitus, *Historiæ*, v. 10.

|                                                                 | U. C. | A. D. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| XXXIX. M. Licinius Crassus Mucianus* p .....                    | 820   | 67    |
| XL. Cæsenius Pætus † <sup>q</sup> . <i>By Vespasian</i> .....   | 824   | 71    |
| XLI. (M.) Ulpius Trajanus <sup>r</sup> ( <i>Pater</i> ) ‡ ..... | *829  | 76    |

## TABLE FOURTH.

*Procurators of Judæa.*

From U. C. 760. A. D. 7—U. C. 828. A. D. 75\*.

|                                                     | U. C. | A. D. |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| I. Coponius <sup>a</sup> . <i>By Augustus</i> ..... | 760   | 7     |
| II. Marcus Ambivivus <sup>b</sup> .....             | *763  | 10    |
| III. Annius Rufus <sup>c</sup> .....                | *766  | 13    |

The only difficulty connected with this date is that, of which a solution is attempted iv. 254, 255. Josephus, Vita, 67. 71. implies that he was still in office, U. C. 820 *ineunte* at least. This is possible; as Nero did not dispatch Vespasian, until he heard of Cestius' defeat; viz. in the spring, after October, U. C. 819. Cestius either killed himself, or died a natural death this year; not an impossible event, even in the latter case, if he was consul U. C. 788.

\* Mucian was most probably sent to supersede Cestius in Syria, when Vespasian was sent to take the command in Judæa; both by Nero. His coins extend from U. C. 821—822. *ab auctumno* Eckhel, iii. 282.

† Mucian certainly quitted his province to march into Italy U. C. 822. Who was left to command in Syria does not appear, except that Cneus Collega was

acting there as deputy, U. C. 823: see De Bello, vii. iii. 4. A Caius Cæcina Pætus was cons. suff. U. C. 823. Perhaps Josephus means him. A Cæsonius Pætus, however, was consul U. C. 814.

‡ There is one coin of Trajan's extant, which shews that he was in office U. C. 829. *ab auctumno*: Eckhel, iii. 282: vi. 434. Josephus also shews that a Trajan, most probably the same, was a commander of a legion, under Vespasian, in the Jewish war, U. C. 821: De Bello, iv. viii. 1.

[\* The following list is intended to exhibit the succession of procurators of Judæa from the time of their first appointment, to the conclusion of Josephus' History of the Jewish War. The dates, which are marked with an asterisk, are conjectural: being intended to express the nearest approximation to the true.]

p Tacitus, *Historiæ*, i. 10: ii. 5: Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 6, 9: Plutarch, *Otho*, 4: Zonaras, i. 575. B: xi. 16: Ant. Jud. xii. iii. 1: De Bello, iv. i. 5: x. 6: Pliny, *H. N. passim*. q De Bello, vii. iii. 4: vii. 1. r Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 14. a Ant. Jud. xviii. i. 1: De Bello, ii. viii. 1. b Ant. Jud. xviii. ii. 2. c Ibid.



|                                                                                           | U.C. | A.D. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------|
| IV. Valerius Gratus <sup>d</sup> . <i>By Tiberius</i> .....                               | 768  | 15   |
| V. Pontius Pilatus <sup>e</sup> .....                                                     | 779  | 26   |
| VI. Marcellus <sup>f</sup> <i>By Vitellius, president of Syria</i> .....                  | 789  | 36   |
| VII. Maryllus * <sup>g</sup> . <i>By Caius</i> .....                                      | 790  | 37   |
| VIII. Cuspius Fadus <sup>h</sup> . <i>By Claudius</i> .....                               | *797 | 44   |
| IX. Tiberius Alexander <sup>i</sup> . ...                                                 | *799 | 46   |
| X. Ventidius Cumanus <sup>k</sup> . ...                                                   | *801 | 48   |
| XI. Antonius Felix <sup>l</sup> .....                                                     | *803 | 50   |
| XII. Porcius Festus <sup>m</sup> . <i>By Nero</i> .....                                   | 811  | 58   |
| XIII. Albinus <sup>n</sup> .....                                                          | 815  | 62   |
| XIV. Gessius Florus <sup>o</sup> .....                                                    | 817  | 64   |
| XV. Marcus Antonius Julianus <sup>†p</sup> . <i>Probably by</i><br><i>Vespasian</i> ..... | *823 | 70   |
| XVI. Liberius Maximus <sup>‡q</sup> .....                                                 | *825 | 72   |

\* I have given Maryllus a place in this list, though he was not, strictly speaking, procurator, or civil governor; only hipparchus, or the emperor's fiscal procurator.

† An Antonius Julianus is mentioned by Minucius Felix, and, I believe, by Jerome, as the author of an History of the Jewish War. If so, it was probably this person.

‡ Between Antonius and Maximus, Josephus mentions Terentius Rufus, (De Bello, vii. ii. i.): Cerealis Vitellianus, (vii. vi. 1.): and Lucilius Bassus, (ibid.) as military commanders in Judæa, the first in the same year with the destruction of Jerusalem, but after that event, U. C. 823; the last, as super-

seding Cerealis, about the fourth of Vespasian, U. C. 825. But as he distinguishes Bassus, (vii. vi. 6.) expressly from Liberius Maximus, calling the latter the ἐπίτροπος or procurator, while he recognises the other, notwithstanding, as the commander of the forces; we must do the same; and not reckon any of those three among the procurators of Judæa as such. For the same reason, neither is Flavius Silva, who succeeded to the command of Bassus, upon his death, probably U. C. 825—(see De Bello, vii. viii. 1 : ix. 1.) to be reckoned among the procurators. Antonius Julianus was probably the next procurator as such, after Gessius Florus, whose term of office was cut short by

<sup>d</sup> Ant. Jud. xviii. ii. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Ant. Jud. xviii. ii. 2 : De Bello, ii. ix. 2 : Tacitus, Annales, xv. 44.

<sup>f</sup> Ant. Jud. xviii. iv. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. xviii. vi. 10.

<sup>h</sup> Ant. Jud. xix. ix. 2 : De Bello, ii. xi. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Ant. Jud. xx. v. 2 : De Bello, ii. xi. 6.

<sup>k</sup> Ant. Jud. xx. v. 2 : De Bello, ii. xii. 1 : Tacitus, Annales, xii. 54.

<sup>l</sup> Ant. Jud. xx. vii. 1 : De Bello, ii. xii. 8 : Tacitus, Annales, xii. 54 : Historiæ, v. 9 : Acts xxiii. 24. 26.

<sup>m</sup> Ant. Jud. xx. viii. 9 : De Bello, ii. xiv. 1 : Acts xxiv. 27.

<sup>n</sup> Ant. Jud. xx. ix. 1 : De Bello, ii. xiv. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Ant. Jud. xx. ix.

<sup>p</sup> De Bello, vi. iv. 3.

<sup>q</sup> De Bello, vii. vi. 6.

## TABLE FIFTH.

*Jewish High Priests.*

From U. C. 717. B. C. 37—U. C. 823. A. D. 70\*.

|                                                                                                | U. C.        | B. C. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-------|
| I. Ananelus (of Babylon) <sup>a</sup> . <i>Appointed by Herod</i>                              | 717          | 37    |
| II. Aristobulus (son of Alexander and grandson of<br>Aristobulus II.) <sup>b</sup> .....       | 718          | 36    |
| III. Ananelus (reappointed) <sup>c</sup> .....                                                 | 719          | 35    |
| IV. Jesus (son of Phabes) <sup>d</sup> .....                                                   | date unknown |       |
| V. Simon (son of Boethus) <sup>e</sup> .....                                                   | 733          | 21    |
| VI. Matthias (son of Theophilus) <sup>f</sup> .....                                            | 750          | 4     |
| VII. Josephus (son of Ellemus) <sup>g</sup> . <i>Appointed for</i><br><i>the νηστεία</i> ..... | 750          | 4     |
| VIII. Joazarus (son of Boethus) <sup>h</sup> .....                                             | 751          | 3     |

the rebellion, U. C. 819; and Liberius Maximus after Antonius, who might be appointed in U. C. 823 itself, when Titus was dispatched by Vespasian against Jerusalem. If Maximus was appointed in U. C. 825, he might not be superseded until U. C. 828; and so his procuratorship would extend to the close of the history of Josephus; which ends, as I have shewn, in the same year.

Until the breaking out of the war, U. C. 819, the procurator had the command of the forces also, which were any where stationed in Judæa. After the rebellion, and in consequence of the state of things which rendered it necessary to keep up an extraordinary military force in the country, it seems to have

been thought necessary to have an extraordinary military commander: and the fact that we find such an officer associated with, yet distinguished from, the civil governor, from U. C. 823, down to U. C. 826 at least, is among the other arguments that the war had not ceased until then at least.

\* [In the following table, every person is mentioned, whose name I have observed in Josephus, as having filled the office of high priest, whether for a longer or for a shorter time, whether for the first time, or as reappointed. The dates, which are marked with an asterisk, are conjectural; that is, they are probably, but not certainly, the true.]

<sup>a</sup> Ant. Jud. xv. ii. 4.    <sup>b</sup> Ibid. xv. ii. 7: iii. 1.    <sup>c</sup> Ibid. xv. iii. 3.    <sup>d</sup> Ibid. xv. ix. 3.  
<sup>e</sup> Ant. Jud. xv. ix. 3.    <sup>f</sup> Ibid. xvii. iv. 2.    <sup>g</sup> Ibid. xvii. vi. 4.  
<sup>h</sup> Ibid. Cf. xvii. xiii. 1. xix. vi. 2.

|                                                                                                    | U.C.         | B.C. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|------|
| IX. Eleazarus (brother of Joazar) <sup>i</sup> . <i>Appointed</i><br>by Archelaus .....            | *751         | 3    |
| X. Jesus (son of Sie) <sup>k</sup> .....                                                           | date unknown |      |
| XI. Joazarus (son of Boethus) <sup>l</sup> . <i>Reappointed</i> .....                              | date unknown |      |
| XII. Ananus (son of Seth) <sup>m</sup> . <i>By Quirinius</i> .....                                 | 760 A.D.     | 7    |
| XIII. Ismaelus (son of Phabi) <sup>n</sup> . <i>By Gratus</i> .....                                | 775          | 22   |
| XIV. Eleazarus (son of Ananus) <sup>o</sup> . .....                                                | 777          | 24   |
| XV. Simon (son of Camithus) <sup>p</sup> .....                                                     | 778          | 25   |
| XVI. Josephus (or Caiaphas) <sup>q</sup> .....                                                     | 779          | 26   |
| XVII. Jonathan (son of Ananus) <sup>r</sup> . <i>By Vitellius</i> .....                            | 790          | 37   |
| XVIII. Theophilus (brother of Jonathan) <sup>s</sup> .....                                         | 790          | 37   |
| XIX. Simon Cantheras (son of Boethus) <sup>t</sup> . <i>By</i><br><i>Herod Agrippa</i> .....       | *794         | 41   |
| XX. Matthias (son of Ananus) <sup>u</sup> .....                                                    | *795         | 42   |
| XXI. Elionæus, or Cantheras (son of Cantheras) <sup>w</sup> . ..                                   | *796         | 43   |
| XXII. Josephus (son of Cami, or Camudus) <sup>x</sup> . <i>By</i><br><i>Herod of Chalcis</i> ..... | *797         | 44   |
| XXIII. Ananias (son of Nebedæus) <sup>y</sup> .....                                                | *799         | 46   |
| XXIV. Jonathan (son of Ananus) <sup>z</sup> . <i>Probably by</i><br><i>Quadratus</i> .....         | 802          | 49   |
| XXV. Ismaelus (son of Phabei) <sup>a</sup> . <i>By Agrippa</i><br><i>the younger</i> .....         | *809         | 56   |
| XXVI. Josephus Cabi (son of Simon) <sup>b</sup> .....                                              | 814          | 61   |
| XXVII. Ananus (son of Ananus) <sup>c</sup> .....                                                   | 815          | 62   |
| XXVIII. Jesus (son of Damnæus) <sup>d</sup> .....                                                  | 815          | 62   |
| XXIX. Jesus (son of Gamaliel, or of Gamalas) <sup>e</sup> ..                                       | *816         | 63   |
| XXX. Matthias (son of Theophilus) <sup>f</sup> .....                                               | 818          | 65   |
| XXXI. Phanasus or Phannias (son of Samuel) <sup>g</sup> .<br><i>By the zealots</i> .....           | 820          | 67   |

The above number is reckoned by Josephus at 28 in all<sup>h</sup>; that is, at three less than what the preceding table exhibits. This number of twenty-eight is made out by omitting the names of Ananelus

<sup>i</sup> Ant. Jud. xvii. xiii. 1. <sup>k</sup> Ibid. <sup>l</sup> Ant. Jud. xviii. i. 1. Cf. ii. 1. <sup>m</sup> Ibid. xviii. ii. 1. <sup>n</sup> Ibid. xviii. ii. 2. <sup>o</sup> Ibid. <sup>p</sup> Ibid. <sup>q</sup> Ibid. <sup>r</sup> Ant. Jud. xviii. iv. 3. <sup>s</sup> Ibid. xviii. v. 3. <sup>t</sup> Ibid. xix. vi. 2. <sup>u</sup> Ibid. xix. vi. 4. <sup>w</sup> Ibid. xix. viii. 1. <sup>x</sup> Ibid. xx. i. 3. <sup>y</sup> Ibid. xx. v. 2. <sup>z</sup> Ibid. xx. vi. 2—viii. 5 : De Bello, ii. xii. 5—xiii. 3. <sup>a</sup> Ant. Jud. xx. viii. 8. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. xx. viii. 11 : Cf. No. xv. or No. xix. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. xx. ix. 1. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. xx. ix. 4 : Vita Josephi, 38. <sup>f</sup> Ant. Jud. xx. ix. 7 : Cf. De Bello, iv. ix. 11. <sup>g</sup> Ant. Jud. xx. x : De Bello, iv. iii. 8. <sup>h</sup> Ant. Jud. xx. x. p. 1144.

(No. III.) as merely reappointed; of Josephus, son of Ellemus (No. VII.) as appointed only for one day; and of Joazarus, son of Boethus, (No. XI.) as only reappointed also. But it cannot be made out, if besides these omissions, we omit further the name of Jonathan, son of Ananus, (No. XXIV.) though that too was in some sense a reappointment, the same Jonathan having been high priest once before, (see No. XVII.) However, as there was twelve years' interval between the times, this may be the reason why Josephus reckons him in particular twice over. The fact that he is so reckoned, is of importance; for it proves that he was actually the officiating high priest at the time of his death, just before the arrival of St. Paul at Jerusalem, U. C. 809, when Ananias was officiating in the same capacity; which Ananias, we may further observe from Josephus, is never mentioned as reappointed; nor recognised again as acting high priest, after his deprival by Quadratus, U. C. 802. This sufficiently explains St. Paul's language of this Ananias at the time, Acts xxiii. 5: and confirms the construction which we put upon it. See Vol. iv. p. 118, 119.

There is a table of the succession of Jewish high priests in the Hypomnesticon, or Liber Sacer Memorialis of Joseph, to which we have had occasion to refer elsewhere. It will be found to agree with the above, except that it omits No. XI. and supposes the reappointment of Jonathan, between No. XIX. and No. XX: and omits No. XXVIII. Jesus the son of Damnaeus. Vide the Liber in question, cap. ii. p. 14—18.

## TABLE SIXTH.

*Dates of facts in sacred or profane history, between the Creation and the beginning of the Gospel Ministry<sup>a</sup>.*

|                                                                                                      | B. C. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| VERNAL Equinox, A. M. 1. Saturday, tropical April 22; Julian April 24, vol. iii. p. 469: iv. 720 ... | 4004  |
| Deluge, spring, iii. 439 .....                                                                       | 2348  |

<sup>a</sup> Some of the ensuing dates may be found to differ slightly from the corresponding ones in the Dissertations. They are in fact more particular limitations of general statements which there occurred.



|                                                                                                                                               | B. C.      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Birth of Terah, iii. 439 .....                                                                                                                | about 2126 |
| Birth of Abraham, iii. 440 .....                                                                                                              | about 2064 |
| Call of Abraham into Charran, <i>ibid.</i> 437—439 .....                                                                                      | 2004       |
| Death of Terah, iii. 442 .....                                                                                                                | 1991       |
| Call of Abraham into Canaan, iii. 439.....                                                                                                    | 1990       |
| Birth of Isaac, i. 395: iii. 438 .....                                                                                                        | about 1966 |
| Birth of Jacob, iii. 438 .....                                                                                                                | about 1906 |
| Descent into Egypt, i. 392, 393, 394: iii. 438... about                                                                                       | 1775       |
| Birth of Moses, spring, iii. 438.....                                                                                                         | about 1640 |
| Exodus from Egypt, iii. 433—443 .....                                                                                                         | 1560       |
| Vernal Equinox, B. C. 1560. Saturday Nisan 10, the<br>tropical April 3, or the Julian April 5. iii. 433.<br>459. 464, 465. 469: iv. 657. 720. |            |
| First Passover, Wednesday April 7, iii. 469. 480.                                                                                             |            |
| Passage of the Red sea, Sunday April 11, iii. 466. 480.                                                                                       |            |
| Supply of quails, Saturday May 8, iii. 466, 467.                                                                                              |            |
| Supply of Manna, Sunday May 9, <i>ibid.</i>                                                                                                   |            |
| First of the Sabbaths, Saturday May 15, <i>ibid.</i>                                                                                          |            |
| Tabernacle erected, Thursday, March 17, i. 395, 396:<br>iii. 478 .....                                                                        | 1559       |
| First Levitical Passover, Wednesday March 30. iii. 475.<br>478. 480.                                                                          |            |
| Entrance into Canaan, Tuesday April 12, iii. 443. 480                                                                                         | 1520       |
| Beginning of the cycle of Jubiles, iii. 445.                                                                                                  |            |
| Division of the lands, autumn, iii. 443.....                                                                                                  | 1514       |
| Beginning of the sabbatic cycles, autumn, iii. 444:<br>iv. 455 .....                                                                          | 1513       |
| Death of Joshua, iii. 445. 455.....                                                                                                           | 1504       |
| Servitude to Cushan-Rishathaim, iii. 455: iv. 462 .....                                                                                       | 1499       |
| Administration of Othniel, iii. 455. 457 .....                                                                                                | 1492       |
| Servitude to Eglon, iii. 446. 455, 456.....                                                                                                   | 1452       |
| Administration of Ehud, iii. 446. 449. 455, 456.....                                                                                          | 1435       |
| Servitude to Jabin, iii. 446. 455, 456 .....                                                                                                  | 1355       |
| Administration of Deborah, iii. 446. 455, 456.....                                                                                            | 1336       |
| Servitude to the Midianites, iii. 446. 455, 456 .....                                                                                         | 1296       |
| Administration of Gideon, midsummer, iii. 446. 455,<br>456: iv. 462, 463.....                                                                 | 1290       |
| Thirty-second sabbatic year, autumn, iv. 462, 463.....                                                                                        | 1290       |
| First year of Abimelech, iii. 446, 447 .....                                                                                                  | 1250       |

|                                                                                    |            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
|                                                                                    | B. C.      |
| Administration of Tola, iii. 446, 447 .....                                        | 1247       |
| Administration of Jair, iii. 446, 447 ..... about                                  | 1225       |
| Servitude to the Ammonites, iii. 446. 456 .....                                    | 1203       |
| Administration of Jephthah, iii. 446. 456 .....                                    | 1186       |
| Administration of Ibzan, iii. 446, 447.....                                        | 1180       |
| Administration of Elon, iii. 446, 447..... about                                   | 1174       |
| Administration of Abdon, iii. 446, 447 ..... about                                 | 1164       |
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